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CHURCH PAPERS.

SUNDRY ESSAYS

ON SUBJECTS RELATING TO

THE CHURCH AND CHRISTIAN SOCIETY.

BY

LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON.

GENEVA, (Switzerland.)

NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS.

LONDON: TRÜBNER & CO.

1877.

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IN PREPARATION:

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TO

THE BEAUTIFUL AND HOLY MEMORY

OF MY DEAR BROTHER,

GEORGE BLAGDEN BACON,

PASTOR OF THE VALLEY CHURCH

Orange, New Jersey,

WHO, FROM HIS SUCCESSFUL LABORS IN THE SERVICE OF

CHRIST'S WHOLE CHURCH,

ENTERED INTO HIS MASTER'S JOY

SEPTEMBER 15,

1876.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE . . . . . vii-viii

ARTICLES PERTAINING TO THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH.

I. The Fundamental Fallacy of Current Congregationalism. 1
II. Five Theories of the Church. 18
III. Church, Parish and Benevolent Society. 42
IV. Confessions of a High Churchman. 73

IRENICAL LETTERS.

V. Is Schism a Necessity? An Open Letter to the Right Rev. A. C. Coxe, D.D., Bishop in Western New York. 101
VI. How to Avert a Schism. A Letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, at his Grace's request. 126

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CONTROVERSY.

VII. How the Rev. Dr. Stone Bettered his Situation. An Examination of the Assurance of Salvation and Certainty of Belief to which we are affectionately invited by His Holiness the Pope 134

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PAGE

ESSAYS IN CONTEMPORARY ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

VIII. The Catholic Reformation in Switzerland 169
IX. Catholic Reform in Northern Switzerland 204
X. The Fourth Old Catholic Congress; Freiburg, 1874 224
XI. Christian Union at Bonn 230

ARTICLES PERTAINING TO THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH WITH MODERN SOCIETY.

XII. CHURCH AND CIVIL LAW.
On Forcing Jesus to be King: A Sermon against State Interference with Religion, and in favor of the Sunday Laws 237

XIII. CHURCH AND THEATRE.
A Sermon on Theatres and Theatre-going . . . 255

XIV. CHURCH AND TEMPERANCE.
The Mistakes and Failures of the Temperance Reformation 275

XV. THE OPPROBRIUM OF ENGLISH LAW.
A Sermon against the Public Crime of the Dereliction of Legislation for the Protection of the Family 327

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PREFACE.

It is neither the request of friends nor the demand of the public that induces me to print these *Church Papers* in a volume. The public has taken a transient interest in some of them, as they have appeared in various periodicals, and has promptly forgotten them. As for my friends, I must do them the justice to believe that if they had been consulted they would generally have agreed in advising me to save my money for some better use than printing a book which nobody will buy, which very few will read, and which hardly any one will approve.

I may as well confess to myself that it is these very considerations that induce this publication. With a most willing heart for any the humblest work that may present itself to me as a minister of Jesus Christ, I find no way of service open to me, nor any near likelihood of any. In my unwilling seclusion, therefore, I have decided to put some of my thoughts on the social relations of Christianity into such a shape that they may reach the eye, not of the public—that is beyond my hopes—but of some of those whose high privilege it is to speak to the public and be heard.

As I glance over the file of proof-sheets, I regret the things left out. I wish I could add a page or two to Article II, concerning the Historic Unity of the Church, and the Succession of Authority in its Ministry. I wish that, out of the depth of a very painful experience, I could add something of tender earnestness to the appeal, in Article V, against the wickedness—the unconscious wickedness—of a policy of wanton schism. I wish I could re-state the substantial arguments of Articles IV and VII in a more plain and sober form, for the benefit of those who cannot see a grave thought under a

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satiric surface. And I wish I could give, in a postscript to the articles on the Old Catholic movement, a fuller statement of reasons for giving up my earlier hopes of some useful religious result from that enterprise.

I wish withal that I could have added some guards, here and there, against being misunderstood. But it is vain to hope against that misfortune. And who knows but the papers may do as much good taken in a wrong sense as in a right one? (think of the edification that has been got out of Bible texts by false exegesis!) And perhaps, after all, the book is not of as much consequence, any way, as I love to imagine. Only it seems to me that I have here some grains of good seed of the kingdom of God; and I may not hide it longer in my bosom. So, lest it abide alone, I cast it abroad to die; and the Lord shall give it a body as it may please him.

LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON.

Geneva, January, 1877.

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CHURCH PAPERS.

I.

THE RADICAL FALLACY OF CURRENT CONGREGATIONALISM.*

THE Congregational Board of Publication is rendering a useful service to the public by discouraging the circulation of the writings of the late Dr. Emmons. If the ponderous heritage of the stereotype plates of his works had fallen to the lot of an unscrupulous private publisher, we can not precisely estimate at present the mischief which they might have done. Such a one might have used with his conscience the argument "I must live; therefore this stock must be worked off." In such hands the sluggish flow of

* From the *Congregational Quarterly* for October, 1863. It is proper to say that the exordium of this article, on the true function of publishing societies, was omitted by the Editors of the *Quarterly*, and that the article, as thus retrenched, was accompanied by a disclaimer of editorial approbation. But the publication, even on such terms, in a denominational organ, of an essay in purposed refutation of the fundamental tenet of the denomination, seems to me such an act of liberality as would be found in few religious communions besides that of the American Congregationalists.

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this heavy literature would have been facilitated by a hundred appliances. The stout octavos would have stood "on sale" in the stock of country book-stores; they would have been swapped off among booksellers at trade-sales; they would have been cheerfully thrown in to eke out the balance of many a doubtful bargain; in the spirit of disinterested benevolence, they would have been presented by the philanthropic publisher to ministers' libraries and to Western Colleges; and so the stock would have been Worked Off;—off the publisher's hands and on the public's. And then there would have been danger—how much, we are not prepared to say, but certainly more or less danger—that the books would be read.

Now to avoid so undesirable a result, it is impossible to conceive a more beautiful contrivance, than what is called (in our inexact popular phrase) a "publishing society." Without anything of the jar of controversy, without damage to any publisher's investments, without irritation,—yea, rather with much emollient lubrication—to the feelings of descendants or surviving friends, the exceptionable author is quietly but effectually laid on the shelf. That which might otherwise have continued to be talked over with reproach or derision in the streets of Ashkelon, is gradually hushed up within the denomination. A posthumous influence which might have infected other regions and generations is quarantined within its own county,—save as successive classes of theological students, in the enthusiasm of "middle year," are led into making a disproportionate and too permanent investment of the money they have earned in school-teaching, in the works of the medieval and *paulo-post* medieval divines of New England.

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One good service for which we are sometimes indebted to writers not otherwise useful, is that of reducing the fallacies of better men to an absurdity by their own wrong-headed consistency; or of taking up the defense of a fallacy which has lurked vaguely and covertly in men's minds, and setting it fair and square before us, within good striking distance. This is the good work wrought in a sermon of Dr. Emmons, "printed not published" by the Congregational Board of Publication under the following title:—

"Doctrinal Tract, No. 46. Scriptural Platform of Church Government. By Nathaniel Emmons, D.D. Boston: Congregational Board of Publication."

It is a Sermon on Matthew xviii: 15-17. It is written in a style rude without being simple, and slovenly without being easy. Coming from the pen of a practised writer for the press, it is disgraced from page to page with grammatical blunders that would be shameful in a school-boy, and are honorable to the "Congregational Board of Publication," only as evidence of their scrupulosity against tampering with the author's text. It is careless in statement, almost to the point of self-contradiction. It assumes, as axioms, points chiefly contested by the opposing theories of church-order, and propositions abandoned by all parties as fictitious. But it shows this evidence of a logical mind, that having started from false premises, it comes out at last, after whatever flying leaps of inconsequent argument, with a good degree of uniformity, upon false conclusions. The whole document, with all its assumptions and assertions, is pitched in that key of oracular infallibility which is apt to characterize the undisputed great man of a small country town.

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We might justify these strictures by two or three pages of citations; but it is sufficient to cite the whole tract "by its title only." In its twenty duodecimo pages, the critic can hardly go amiss of blunders logical, rhetorical or grammatical.[1]

Nevertheless, with all its faults, the little pamphlet has the great merit of bringing a common fallacy in church-polity out into the plainest view. By assuming this fallacy as his logical base, and pushing ahead from it, without looking either to the right hand or to the left, and with utter disregard of the cutting of his line of communica-

1. We make room for a few specimen sentences, in justification of what we have said of the literary style of the tract before us. Its logical deliquencies cannot be fairly displayed without too large encroachments on the space allotted for this article.

"A church *has* a right to watch over and reprove *one another* in private. This right *they* have voluntarily given to each other, by their mutual covenant." p. 7.

"No modern minister is a bishop, (JURE DIVINO,) but a mere creature of the State, and destitute of all divine authority to exercise dominion over any regular Gospel minister." p. 10.

"The elders of Ephesus, whom the Apostle calls bishops, were mere ministers of churches, who had no right to watch over one another, but only over the particular church and congregation over which God had made each of them a distinct pastor." p. 10.

Does this last sentence mean anything? If so, it probably means that *the church* in Ephesus whose elders,—*the flock* whose bishops—Paul called to him at Miletus, WAS not one church, but several churches, each with its "distinct pastor," and so remarkably independent that one minister had *no right to watch over* another! A convenient interpretation to support the lawfulness of schism and the favorite notion that a church never means a larger number than can get into one meeting-house; but an interpretation which, at the same time, with delightfully unconscious simplicity, upsets that most sound and truly important maxim of Congregationalism, that the word *church* never means a collection of churches. Thus may *such* exegesis ever come to grief!

"If every church *be* formed by confederation, and *has* an independent right to exercise all ecclesiastical power, then *they have* a right to dismiss their own minister..... The church either *puts their* ministers into office, or *delegate* power to neighboring ministers to do it for them."...."Therefore as neighboring ministers could not place a pastor over *them* without *their* consent; so *they* cannot put away or dismiss *their* pastor without *their* consent." pp. 11, 12.

"An Episcopalian church has no independence; the government of it is in the hands of archbishops, bishops, and *other* inferior clergy. You know that all the Protestant world have loudly complained of the ecclesiastical tyranny of the Church of Rome; and justly, which has destroyed the independence of all the churches of the Popish religion." p. 18.

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tion, the writer comes out at results which, in themselves, go far to disprove his premises. To many minds the tract is its own *reductio ad absurdum*, and to such minds it can safely be recommended.

The *radical fallacy* to which we allude may be summarily stated thus :—

THAT A CHURCH IS A CLUB.

More at length, it is unfolded in the following passage from the tract, p. 4.

"What is it that constitutes a number of visible saints a proper church? I answer, A MUTUAL COVENANT. It is by confederation, that a number of individual Christians become a visible church of Christ. A number of professing Christians cannot be formed into a church without their freely and mutually covenanting to walk together in all the duties and ordinances of the Gospel. They may be real and visible saints while they remain unconnected and separate; but they cannot be a proper church, without entering into covenant, and laying themselves under certain obligations to each other, to live and act like Christians." p. 4.

This view of the origin of the church is not peculiar to the tract before us; on the contrary, it is clearly expressed in the most authoritative standards of Congregational church order, (Cambridge Platform, iv. 3.)[1] and in

1. It is suggested to me by very high authority, that the framers of the Cambridge and Saybrook Platforms never intended the construction which has been put upon their words by nearly all their modern expounders; but that they rather intended to guard against it, by the words of qualification with which they surround their statements concerning the origin of the church. It is an interesting historical question, and the view thus suggested certainly has much to confirm it, both in the internal evidence of the documents, and in the history of the times. If it could be made to appear that Ecclesiastical Jacobinism was contemporaneous in its origin with political Jacobinism, the result would be honorable to the Forefathers whom we delight to honor. But the meaning of the language of Dr. Emmons, and of other modern writers, in their treatment of the theory of the church, does not admit even of a charitable doubt.

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other writings it is contained by implication. But in the case before us it is stated with the least possible qualification, and its evil consequences accepted with the most unhesitating simplicity.

We have three things to allege against the proposition:—

I. It rests on false and inadequate Arguments.

II. It leads to absurd Conclusions.

III. It results in vicious Practices.

I. The first argument[1] brought to the support of this proposition is stated in the tract, as follows:—

"1. Confederation is the band of union among civil societies; *[sic]* and analogy requires the same band of union in a religious society. Civil government is founded in compact. Individuals are not a civil society, until they have formed themselves into one, by an explicit or implicit compact, agreement, or covenant. Before they have laid themselves under a mutual engagement, they are unconnected individuals, and have no power or authority over one another. But after they have freely and voluntarily entered into a compact, or covenant, to live and conduct towards one another, according to certain laws, rules, and

1. Another argument is hinted at *in limine*, but a little shyly, as if it were not of a nature to bear close inspection—I mean the historical and Scriptural argument. See p. 4.

"It was certainly so in the days of the apostles. They prepared materials before they erected churches. They went from place to place and preached the Gospel, and as many as professed to believe the Gospel and were baptized, *and being* of a competent number, *[sic]* they formed into a distinct church. But how did they form churches?.... I answer, A mutual Covenant."

It would hardly be suspected, from the neat way in which these matter-of-course remarks are slipped in at the outset of the discussion, that they can stand only as an inference, and a very difficult and doubtful inference at that, from the very theory which the writer is going about to prove;—that this is a point at which that theory labors fearfully,—the total absence of any vestige of historical testimony that the apostles, or their converts, ever did any such thing as is here imputed to them.

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regulations, they become a civil society, vested with civil power and authority. And *[therefore?]* it is only by confederation that individual Christians can form themselves into a church, and bind themselves to walk together according to the rules of the Gospel." p. 4.

A beautiful bit of reasoning to set before the public, in the middle of the nineteenth century! Surely it ought to need no refutation—this attempt to found an explosive theory of the church on an exploded theory of the State. But how then shall we deal with it, coming from such an author, and indorsed with such and imprimatur? If we had found it in Jefferson, we should know what to think of it. But was not Emmons that heroic conservative who preached the famous philippic on "Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, which made Israel to sin," wherein he renounced Tom Jefferson, and all his works? And how comes *he* to be flourishing this shabby scrap of cheap second-hand Jacobinism? We are curious to know the date at which this precious argument was drawn up. If it was written in the author's younger days, before the French Revolution had reduced its premiss to a tragical absurdity, he might plead the fact in mitigation. But what shall we say for the Board of Publication?

2. The second argument in favor of this theory that the church is formed by a "social compact," is the identical argument which is used to establish the origin of the *State* in a "social compact," the names only being changed. It is briefly this: the church has certain powers over its members. It could not have acquired those powers except by a mutual agreement among the members, ceding some of their individual rights to the body ecclesiastic. There-

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fore the church is formed by a compact; is a "voluntary association." p. 5.

This also needs no refutation, its exact parallel in civil polity being universally renounced as a fallacy.

3. The final proof that a church is a "voluntary association" is little more than a reiteration of the last mentioned argument, with particulars. "Nothing besides a covenant can give form to a church, or be a sufficient bond of union." (Scr. Platform, p. 5.) Mere Christian affection cannot; nor "cohabitation," even when the cohabitants habitually meet for worship,—nor baptism.

This enumeration (borrowed from the Cambridge Platform, chap. iv. §5.) even if we admit the particulars, scarcely exhausts all possible theories of the church. It makes no mention of the organizing power of Christian duty and an imperative law of Christ, or of the force of traditionary Christian usage originating in apostolic example and authority, and gaining gradually by antiquity of prescription all the force which it loses by remoteness from the source of authority. Especially, it takes no account of this, that two or three of the conditions named might together constitute a church, when each of them separately would fail to do so. Long before the "Scriptural Platform" was written, a body of men who were not fools named as the essentials of church-life just those conditions, jointly, which Dr. Emmons rejects, *seriatim:* (1) "a congregation, (2) of faithful men, (3) in the which the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments be duly administered." Their definition of a church may or may not have been complete. But it is not necessarily an absurdity because Dr. Emmons says so.

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II. THE THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH IN A SOCIAL COMPACT LEADS TO ABSURD CONCLUSIONS.

Here again we are relieved of the necessity of extended argument, by the analogy, already claimed in defense of this theory, between the church and the civil state. The notion, long abandoned by wise men, but prevailing still among shallow demagogues—that it is the constitution that creates the nation, and not the nation that makes the constitution, runs parallel, in its whole length, with the notion that it is the covenant which makes the church, and not the church that makes the covenant. But not to pass this point by without the compliment of an argument, we venture briefly to trace a line of reasoning which is familiar already to all who have studied the elements of political philosophy.

1. If the church is simply a voluntary association, subsisting by virtue of a compact between its members, then the church is *ipso facto* dissolved, whenever the mutual compact is violated.

2. If the church has no other power than what is derived from the covenant of its members, then it has no further sanction for its authority than the ordinary obligation of its members to veracity and fidelity.

3. The terms of the social compact can bind none but the original confederators. The theory might serve in some measure for a Baptist church; but it is incompatible with any view of infant church-membership.

4. Neither is the theory compatible with the duty (which is nevertheless universally insisted on by the advocates of this theory) of individual Christians to join the church. For it is essential to the nature of such "voluntary associations" and this is much vaunted in

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vindication of this polity—that members of the society are, so far as the society is concerned, all equals or fellows. (See Wayland's *Moral Philosophy*, p. 335.) Now if the church, or club, one year after its formation, shall approach an individual Christian in its neighborhood with a claim of moral obligation that he shall join it, he is certainly entitled to claim, on his part, to be placed on terms of perfect equality with the original corporators. If he is to enter freely and equitably into covenant, he has a right to demand that the dictation of the terms of the covenant shall not be wholly on one side. But it will be impossible to modify the covenant for his case only; for then there will be a different set of reciprocal rights and duties with respect to him, from those which subsist with respect to the other members. The only course possible to be pursued in such a case is to dissolve the church and take a new start. If he is bound to join the church, the church is bound to join him.

5. But to relieve this difficulty, it is now claimed that the terms of the mutual obligation, like the duty of mutually entering into obligation at all, are not subject to be determined by the will of the corporators, but are imposed in advance by a superior authority. In this case, what becomes of the voluntary convention as the source of ecclesiastical rights and duties? A covenant which is only the expression of duties previously binding, in a community in which membership is a duty of itself, anterior to the act of initiation, is certainly not the source of a great deal of authority. The "voluntary association" is one of that peculiar sort into which the members are "compelled to volunteer." Such a "social compact" is not very useful, even to stop a gap in an ecclesiastical

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theory. And as this is the only service it was ever supposed to be good for, let us hope that the preposterous and antiquated fiction will quit the stage. Strange, that having so long been scouted from civil polity, it should have lingered to this day in ecclesiastical polity!

6. Finally, in the attempt to escape this reticulation of absurdities, the theory of the social-compact church takes to itself one absurdity more. The individual believer, in any community, is bound to join the church (Cambridge Platform, ch. iv. §6. Saybrook Platform, ch. i. §8,) but the church is not bound to receive him. "It is essential to every voluntary society to admit *whom they please* into their number." So declare Dr. Emmons and the Congregational Board of Publication (Scriptural Platform, p. 6;) and although it immediately appears that this liberty of the church, essential to its very nature as a voluntary society, is restricted to admissions *in conformity with the rules of the Gospel*, it does *not* distinctly appear in the writings, still less in the practice, of these theorizers, that the inalienable rights of a voluntary society are thus restricted with regard to the *exclusion* of persons from their communion. One work of acknowledged authority, indeed, leans to the open communion view, as we judge from such expressions as these: "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations;" "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depths of the sea." But the recent works generally, and the recent usage almost universally, carry the "social compact" theory to practical conclusions as consistent as may be. If the only conditions of the existence of a church are that

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certain Christians ("being of a competent number," which number nobody undertakes to define) should "covenant to walk together according to the gospel," it is obviously to be inferred that certain of their Christian neighbors (being of a number more or less competent) may be left (to use a phrase not classical but expressive) "out in the cold." These residuary Christians, being severally under obligation to "join themselves to some particular church," are constrained therefore to set up an opposition church in the same village! This, forsooth, is the church polity of the apostles! A theory of the church, indeed!—say rather a theory of infinitesimal and endless schism—a theory which, disseminated through Christian communities of many different ways of thinking and modes of administration, has already borne fruit after its kind throughout the one Church of Christ which in in all the world.

III. THE CLUB THEORY OF THE CHURCH RESULTS IN VICIOUS PRACTICES.

If any are content with the present aspect of the churches, even of the Congregational churches, as entirely normal and right, we have little to say to them on this head. But to those otherwise-minded we would briefly indicate some of the existing abuses and abnormities which are directly traceable to this *fundamental fallacy* of current Congregationalism.

1. *The indignities practised and tolerated against the authority of the church.*—When the church itself declares that it receives its "powers from the consent of the governed," is it strange that whenever these powers begin to press hardly on any one, he should forthwith "better the instruction," and claim the right to retract a promise given without consideration, and without a distinct

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appreciation of its bearings? Will it be denied that this "right of secession" is both claimed and freely exercised by members of our churches, and that too, sometimes, with open insult to the church, and ostentatious scorn put upon their own plighted word? Nay, is it doubted that this right is substantially conceded in the administration of the churches? A deliberate violation of a secular contract, a flagrant perfidy to the terms of a business copartnership, would be commonly deemed matters justifying the extreme discipline of Christ's house. But the case of one who in some freak of admiration for a surplice, or under some burden of scrupulosity concerning baptism, openly renounces and breaks the solemn compact to which he has freely made himself a party, and which he has confirmed with the public oath which our churches are accustomed to administer at the initiation of their members—is such a case as this commonly held to involve any moral elements, or to be worthy of discipline as perjury?

In fact this covenant is commonly assumed, both by churches and by candidates for membership, with the slightest and vaguest possible expectation that it will be kept. In a country church of three hundred members, not only the church as a body by votes, but each individual member rising for himself, promises to watch over and care for the young candidate; and the candidate in turn promises the like to the members. Does he know who they are with whom he has exchanged these vows? He knows the minister and deacons, but the names of the rest of the three hundred are scattered over a confused chronicle reaching back through generations of church clerks, more or less accomplished and accurate. Do the other parties to the contract know him? If he is diffident

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and retiring, their knowledge of him extends to this, that he has lately come to town, and perhaps "works in the factory." In the course of time he moves to the West, and is lost sight of, until at the accession of a new pastor the records of the church are everhauled, and his name being discovered, and nothing being known of his whereabouts, it is moved, seconded, and unanimously voted, that his name be dropped from the catalogue.

Is this an exaggeration, or is it a fair specimen of the procedure of an average New England church? Unless our personal experience has been a very peculiar one, it is the ordinary usage of these churches to have from time to time a "dropping season," at which coolly, deliberately, and without a thought of perfidy or vow-breach, they renounce their solemn promises of watch and care towards the very persons who, as wanderers, most need their churchly faithfulness; and the "compact" is held to be dissolved by mutual consent. And, further, this "purging of the catalogue" is commended and approved on all hands as a token of activity and fidelity.

2. We name, as the second class of abuses arising from the *radical fallacy*, the *usurpation of undue ecclesiastical authority* over the individual conscience.

It has come to be deemed a fine expedient for carrying certain points of conduct or of doctrine with young disciples, to incorporate in the ceremonies of initiation into church fellowship, professions and promises which at the time they will not be able to refuse without extreme embarrassment, perhaps not without the forfeiture of church communion, but which once assented to will hold them thenceforward. Thus it comes to pass that we may not unfrequently find a church-covenant with a total-

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abstinence pledge, or an anti-slavery resolution, or a tract against dancing, or a gloss upon the fourth commandment, in its belly. The design of such specifications is to reinforce doubtful points of discipline; so that in cases where the majority of the church are not quite assured of the decisiveness of scriptural authority on their side, they may have the matter "nominated in the bond" of mutual compact. If the Bible does not cover the case, the covenant must. Partly in this category, also, and partly in the next, are to be reckoned the codes of dogmatic theology imposed by churches upon the conscience of the novice, under the misnomer of Confessions of Faith. They are *not* confessions of faith, but professions of opinion. They do not say "I believe *on*," but "You believe *that*." They are universally understood to be, not the spontaneous expression of the candidate's opinions, but the church's view of what ought to be his opinions, to which he is compelled to assent. It grows doubtless out of a just sense of the importance of scriptural views, that these, according to the "social compact" theory of the church, are made a matter of contract between the church and its catechumen, and attached to its covenant of initiation. Somehow, nevertheless, the contract for opinions is apt to fail of a due observance.

3. The final and most fatal charge against the club theory of the church is this: that *it results in the rending of the body of Christ*. It deliberately accepts the separation of the people of God into sects and schisms, as the normal and permanent order of the church. Any voluntary association of "visible saints," under a compact of mutual fidelity in the Gospel, is a church, no matter what principles of exclusion they may adopt toward other

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visible saints about them. The "platform" of their mutual compact may prescribe whatever arbitrary conditions of admission, in addition to "visible sanctity," the convenience or the caprice of the first squatter-sovereigns of the congregation may suggest.

A great many pleasing sentiments of Christian love, and of the proper oneness of Christ's church must be sacrificed to the advantage of having a snug, homogeneous, peaceable little Zion of our own. It shall be held that the stumbling of one weak in faith upon doubtful disputations—that the offending of a few of the little ones, ignorant or ill-indoctrinated, and their falling for lack of recognition and brotherly care,—are minor evils compared with that of tolerating men of "dangerous tendencies." So, instead of a church of Christ in any community, you shall have a Calvinistic church, a Total Abstinence church, an Anti-Slavery church, a Congregational church. All this is designed for the discouragement of error, in forgetfulness that the very organization of the exclusive and immaculate church necessitates the organization of errorist churches whenever and wherever there are Christian errorists. A grand system for the discouragement of error, this, which compels error to organize and perpetuate itself in a corporation! A splendid success, the New England experiment for the suppression of Methodism, Anabaptism, and Episcopalianism, by inserting a vow of Calvinism, Pædo-Baptism and Social Compact in the Congregational church-creeds!

Against this Law of Schism, abhorrent to the Christian heart, and at enmity with the law of Christ, the reaction has begun. May God speed it!

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There was a time when, to many earnest minds, the maintenance of the principles of free and popular civil government seemed to be identified with the defense of the fallacious and now obsolete theory of the origin of society in a Social Compact. The theory perished in the lapse of two generations, but Civil Liberty, instead of perishing with it, now disencumbered of the body of its death, makes freer progress every year, and wider conquests.

There may be those now, who will tremble at any attack on the figment of Ecclesiastical Social Compact, fearing lest, if that theory should be overthrown, the foundations of freedom in the church would be destroyed, and the best thoughts and hopes of the founders of Christ's church in New England perish together. The fear betokens no worthy confidence in the truth of the principles of church liberty. The truth cannot suffer by its riddance of such an incubus of falsehood. Long after men shall have learned to think of the "Platform" of Dr. Emmons, as they now think of the "*Contrat Social*" of Rousseau, the principles of church liberty, better administered and understood than now, will still be found leading the advance of the gospel and of Christian civilization.

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II.

FIVE THEORIES OF THE CHURCH.*

THE author of the "Thirteen Historical Discourses, on the First Church in New Haven," [1] vindicates the authority of that church, organized by mutual agreement in a meeting of the Christian people of the colony, by analogy with the civil government of the colony, organized in like manner, about the same time. After describing the "plantation-covenant," under which as a provisional government the colonists lived for fourteen months, the author records the meeting in Mr. Newman's barn, the framing of the church and of the state, the choosing of the "seven pillars," and finally the election and ordination of the church officers. He then proceeds as follows:—

"The question doubtless arises with some—Could such an ordination have any validity, or confer on the pastor thus ordained any authority? Can men, by a voluntary compact, form themselves into a church? and can the

* From the *Congregational Quarterly*, January, 1864.

1. Thirteen Historical Discourses on the completion of Two Hundred Years from the Beginning of the First Church in New Haven. By Leonard Bacon. New Haven, 1838.

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church thus formed impart to its own officers the power of administering ordinances? If Davenport had not been previously ordained in England, would not his administration of ordinances have been sacrilege? Answer me another question: How could the meeting which convened in Mr. Newman's barn, originate a commonwealth? How could the commonwealth thus originated impart the divine authority and dignity of magistrates to officers of its own election? How could a few men coming together here in the wilderness, without commission from king or parliament, by a mere voluntary compact among themselves, give being to a state? How can the state thus instituted have power to make laws that shall bind the minority? What right had they to erect tribunals of justice? What right to wield the sword? What right to inflict punishment, even to death, upon offenders? Is not civil government a divine institution, as really as baptism and the Lord's supper? Is not the 'duly constituted' magistrate as truly the minister of God, as he who presides over the church, and labors in word and doctrine? Whence then came the authority with which that self-constituted state, meeting in Mr. Newman's barn, invested its elected magistrates? It came directly from God, the only fountain of authority. Just as directly from the same God, came the authority with which the equally self-constituted church, meeting in the same place, invested its elected pastor. Could the one give to its magistrates power to hang a murderer in the name of God,—and could not the other give to its elders power to administer baptism."[1]

The argument thus popularly stated is sharply conclusive *ad hominem* against those who hold the popular statement as to the sanction of civil government. The American idea of the state implies the American idea of the church. The parity of reasoning the betwixt the two is perfect.

1. Bacon's Historical Discourses, pp. 41, 42.

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But the analogy here drawn is good for much more than this. It has only to be cleared of expressions which point its immediate application to a particular class of gainsayers, to furnish a theorem by which, reasoning from sound principles in civil polity, we may discover fallacies, and establish the truth, in ecclesiastical polity. For several reasons, let us take the particular instance quoted above as the text of our whole discussion. First, because the argument will be clearer if stated in relation to a particular instance; secondly, because almost the only cases in which history distinctly discloses, side by side, the origin and earliest processes of civil and of ecclesiastical government, are this and like cases in early American history; thirdly, because the passage quoted has actually been, in the mind of the present writer, the germ out of which his argument has grown.

At the outset, let us guard against one source of misapprehension which will be more effectually obviated as the discussion proceeds. The church and commonwealth of New Haven Colony did not *originate* in the meeting in Mr. Newman's barn. They had existed at least fourteen months already. The "Two Hundred Years from the Beginning of the First Church in New Haven," which are commemorated in these discourses, date from the landing of the colonists, not from the mutual compact. And the civil state was coeval with the church. So that when it comes to strictness of speech, the question, Can men by voluntary compact form themselves into a church?—and the other question, Could the meeting in Mr. Newman's barn originate a commonwealth? are to be answered (so far as the present instance shows) in the negative. That

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meeting could not create what was already in existence.[1] What the meeting did was to *organize* both the church and the State. According to "Congregational usage" this is the same thing with originating them; but according to the exact use of the English language it is something different.

Coming now to the question, What was the origin of the New Haven Colony Commonwealth and Church? and What were the source and channel of their authority, if any they had?—there is room for five different answers, according as the respondent holds one or another of five different theories of polity, civil and ecclesiastical. Let us name them:

I. THE PAPAL THEORY.
II. THE BOURBON THEORY.
III. THE FORMAL THEORY.
IV. THE JACOBIN THEORY.
V THE RATIONAL AND SCRIPTURAL THEORY.

I. THE PAPAL THEORY.

It is a "fundamental principle of the papal canon law, that the Roman pontiff is the sovereign lord of the whole world; and that all other rulers in church and state have so much power as he sees fit to allow them to have." Under this principle, the popes have claimed the power "not only of conferring benefices, but also of giving away empires, and likewise of divesting kings and princes of their crowns and authority."[2]

The theory thus set forth is a very simple and intelligible

1. That this is the view accepted by the author of the "Discourses" is sufficiently implied both in the title-page and in the preface of the volume.

2. Murdock's Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 340.

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one, and its application to the case in hand is nowise doubtful. The heathen territory of New England had been disposed of long before the Puritan migration by the gift of a pope to a Catholic prince,[1] and therefore whatever claim of jurisdiction should be set up within that territory by any body of colonists, whether in the name of a charter from a heretic power, or under color of a purchase from the barbarous tribes in possession, or under pretense of a so-called inherent right of self-government, must be simply an intrusion and a usurpation. It would be not only devoid of right in itself, but a violation of the divine right of the pope's grantee.

In like manner, any assumption of the functions of the church or ministry in this colony, otherwise than through the ways appointed by the head of the church, would be void and invalid, and therefore sacrilegious. Furthermore, it would be schismatic, as intruding a separate church authority within a territory and population already placed under the special spiritual jurisdiction of some bishop, or if not so placed, then remaining under the immediate pastoral care of the bishop of Rome.

Obviously, according to this theory, the first step for the colonists to take to secure a regular and valid government, in church and state, is to become reconciled to the Catholic church.

II. The Bourbon Theory. This theory agrees with the first mentioned in declaring all lawful authority, civil and ecclesiastical, to be derived from God through a continuous succession of men. It differs from it in this: that whereas the former holds that there is but one line of this

1. Bancroft's U. S., vol i, p. 10.

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succession—the line of the popes—and that to all rightful secular and spiritual rulers, in any generation, their authority flows through the pope for the time being;—the present theory holds that the lines of succession are not one, but several; that from the original conferment, authority and "validity" descend along these lines in secular matters through an hereditary succession; in spiritual matters through a tactual succession; that the power of the sceptre and sword, or the power of the keys, as it is not derivable from the subjects thereof, so is not defeasible by them; and that the question of title to authority, civil or ecclesiastical, is a simple question of pedigree.[1] According to this theory, the powers of the state center in the sovereign. The king, not the pope, is "the fountain of honor." "*L'état, c'est moi*," says the Bourbon; "*Ecclesia in Episcopo*," responds the high-churchman.

In its two applications, to church and to state, the lines of argument by which this theory is sustained are very nearly equal and parallel. The state is a divine institution, and so is the church. The ministers of the one are divinely commissioned, and so of the other. There are difficulties objected in either case to any other external credentials of the divine commission than the credentials of succession from former ministers. Those whose claims to authority have been founded, exclusively or mainly, on hereditary or tactual relation to their predecessors, have been in a multitude of cases, and for many centuries almost universally, approved as lawful rulers and bishops. The two applications of the theory are analogous, not only by parity of reasoning, but by parity of unreason-

1. See Macaulay's History of England, Chap. I.

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ableness: for in either case it is easier to show the several links of the succession than it is to demonstrate any law of cohesion by which they become a chain, or, the chain being completed, to hitch it fast to the original divine commission. It may fairly enough be admitted that the warrant for ecclesiastical power in Apostolic succession, is as well accredited, on the whole, as the warrant of the hereditary divine right of kings.

Applying this theory to the case in hand, we find that the only right for the exercise of government which the settlers of New England generally possessed, was such as was conferred on them by charter from the king of England. Under such charter, if it was broad enough, all the functions of government might be exercised by the the local magistrates in the name of the king. For lack of such authority, the legislative and judicial acts of the New Haven colonists were null and void. The only way in which regular and valid *independent* government could be set up in the little province of Quinipiac, would be for the colonists to import the regularly descended heir of some Lord's Anointed, — an Otho, or a grand duke Maximilian—and graft their wild olive with a slip of a Stuart or a Bourbon.

Likewise in spiritual matters, Davenport and Hooke might exercise such spiritual functions as their ordination to the priesthood by English bishops would authorize, but could acquire no new prerogative from any act of a self-constituted church. The way of maintaining the functions of the church from generation to generation, was to obtain other priests and deacons from the ordaining hands of the Bishop of London, (whose modest diocese was understood by a mild fiction of law to include a large part of the Western

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hemisphere;) or to secure, either from the lords spiritual of England, or from the cracked succession of the Scotch episcopate, the gift of a bishop with a pedigree sixteen hundred years long, whose should be all the rights of ecclesiastical sovereignty, to have and to hold, and to transmit to his assigns forever. Both these methods were practised successively by a few dissidents in the subsequent days of New Haven; by virtue of which they became the real church of the colony, having the only "valid" and authorized ministry. For neglect of these, the body of Christian people in the commonwealth became schismatics and aliens from the church, and their so-called ministers became guilty (so we are assured,) of the sin of Korah and of Dathan and Abiram.

III. The Formal Theory.—This theory appears under very different phases of development, and is held by very different parties of civil and ecclesiastical politicians. It is that the legitimacy, validity, or authority of a church or of a state are determined by the form of its structure. There are *jure-divino* monarchists, *jure-divino* republicans, and *jure-divino* democrats. So also, there are *jure-divino* tri-ordinary episcopalians, *jure-divino* presbyterians, and *jure-divino* congregationalists.

According to the first classes in these two lists, the state-government in the Colony of New Haven was hopelessly vitiated because it did not constitute Mr. Eaton ruler during his life, and the head of an hereditary dynasty: the church polity was ruined, because the pastor, the teacher, and the ruling elder, instead of being in three ranks in a line of promotion, were all in one rank. And so, to the other classes, the colonial church and state

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must stand or fall, in respect to their divine sanction, according as they agree with or vary from a supposed "pattern showed to Moses in the mount." They came into being, as divine institutions, in the act of conforming themselves to the Scriptural model; or if not so conformed, they never did come into existence at all.[1]

IV. The Jacobin Theory.—This theory represents the body politic or ecclesiastic, to originate out of the unorganized and unassociated materials of human society, by a "social compact" or "covenant," in which all the individuals agree, for the common advantage, to surrender to the new organization—the State, or the church—sundry of their individual rights and powers, to form the common stock of authority for the corporation. "The whole body is supposed, in the first place, to have unanimously consented to be bound by the resolutions of the majority; that majority, in the next place, to have fixed certain fundamental regulations; and then to have constituted, either in one person, or in an assembly, a standing legislature."[2]

According to this theory, the colonists of New Haven, from the time when they came out from under the authority of the ship's captain, at least until the close of their first day of fasting and prayer, when they formed their provisional "plantation covenant," were "in a state of nature." They were not a community, but only the

1. For some severe animadversions against this test of church-hood—against "the whims of theoretic Biblists" and their "Text-made churches," see Isaac Taylor's *Wesley and Methodism*, pp. 199-202.

2. Paley's *Moral and Political Philosophy*, Book VI. chapter 3. See also Emmons's *Scriptural Platform of Church Government*, reviewed in the previous Essay.

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individuals who might become a community whenever they should agree to act in common. They were not society, but only the raw materials of society. There was neither a commonwealth nor a church among them, but only the possibility of these. By-and-by they concluded to have a State and a Church, and so they got together in a barn and created them, appointing officers with divine authority for administering the functions of the two institutions—authority which up to that time had not existed in the colony. Before that, the execution of a malefactor would have been an act of murder,—either of private revenge or of mob-violence. Defensive hostilities against the Indians would have been simply the fighting of every man "on his own hook," except so far as individuals might have chosen to club together according to their preference for leaders. But any exercise of command on the part of him to whom the instincts of the people should turn as their natural military leader, or any attempt to coerce the shirks and the cowards into the common defence, would have been an act of tyranny and usurpation, there having been no unanimous mutual agreement of the colonists to concede their individual rights to this extent. And when, after experiencing the inconveniences of the "state of nature," the colonists began to frame their covenant, there was no right among them to compel into the arrangement any individual who preferred, at his own risk, to live among them but not of them, as a quiet and peaceable outlaw. The uncovenanted citizen might be derelict of a moral duty in thus standing aloof from the mutual engagements of the rest, but the powers arising out of these mutual agreements of ninety-

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nine of the population could not extend over the one-hundredth man who had declined to be a party to the compact.

Just so the Christian people of the colony were not a church, but only Christian individuals. The administration of baptism or the Lord's Supper, before the covenant, would have been, if not sacrilegious, at least a grave irregularity, and an infraction of Congregational order. The endeavor of them that were spiritual to restore by remonstrance and admonition a wandering brother, would have been the meddling of individuals in that which they had nothing to do with. The individual would not have been bound to submit to it; for "the obligation to submit arises from the bond of the covenant,"[1] and he had never made any such contract with his Christian neighbors. Any attempt to report the recusant in the weekly meeting of believers would have been both impertinent and futile; for the man never agreed to suffer any such use of his name, and the stated meeting of Christians is not a church, to "tell it to," because the members of it have not formed a social compact. The exclusion of an obstinate offender from the communion of saints is a sheer impossibility, because the saints do not have any communion. They are men of grace in a "state of nature." If, at length, the colonists hold a meeting in Mr. Newman's barn to arrange the terms of an association for mutual care, and contrive a covenant which should confer on the members and officers of the institution the divine right of enforcing a contract, it is optional with those who find themselves incommoded by too much "watch-care," whether they

1. See Emmons, who is beautifully explicit on this point. *Scr. Platform*, pp. 5, 7.

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will enter into this covenant, or whether they will remain as lookers on, or whether they will form a little separate mutual covenant among themselves.

V. The Rational and Scriptural Theory.—This theory, as applied to the civil state, avoids encountering the hypothetical difficulties suggested in what we have called the Jacobin theory, by simply recognizing the facts of human nature. The questions whether an aggregation of human beings living together without any mutual interests or intercourse is a community or commonwealth; —whether "individuals are a civil society before they have formed themselves into one,"—whether "unconnected individuals, before they have laid themselves under a mutual engagement" [1] are the subjects of any common authority—are futile questions: as if one should ask whether a pile of quicksilver globules would constitute a pool of quicksilver before being flattened down; knowing that it is the nature of globules of quicksilver, not to stand in a pile like cannon-balls, but to flow together upon contact. A battue of lions in an inclosure is not a herd of lions, no matter what discipline you may put them under, for the lion is not a gregarious animal. But a collection of horses or of sheep is a herd, or a flock, at once, without waiting to adjust the terms of an agreement, or to secure the valid investiture or ascertain the pedigree of the bellwether, because horses and sheep are gregarious. You do not have constitute them a herd,—they are a herd. Just so, if you gather human beings together in a separate population, you do not have to make society out

1. Emmons, Script. Platform, p. 4.

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of them. They *are* society, because man is a social animal. And wherever human society is, there are to be found, either potentially or in actual exercise, all the divine power and authority of the State.

And all the questions that are raised among the other conflicting theories of the State, as to the conditions, channel and credentials of divine authority residing in the rulers of the State, are shortly disposed of, according to the rational and Scriptural view, by recurring to that fundamental maxim, "The powers THAT BE are ordained of God." The government *de facto*, by virtue of its being *the power*, is charged by the Divine ruler with the responsibility of administering justice in the land, and is entitled to be respected and obeyed accordingly. This is the sole condition on which divine authority is conferred on the government of any country—that it *be* the government. With this agrees the maxim, in its only true meaning, that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed;" since if this consent, whether voluntary or coerced, active or passive, is withdrawn, the power that was is no longer the power, and God does not ordain the impotencies. Without the actual possession of the power, no degree of *de jure* "validity" amounts to a divine commission;—not bulls from a pope, nor pedigrees running back to King David himself, nor any degree of ideal perfection in the structure of constitution, nor any certificates of a social compact in a mass-meeting. But, the power being present, not the absence of any or all of these conditions can discharge the *de facto* government of its responsibility, nor release the individual from his duty of subjection and obedience. Of course this statement is not to be interpreted to mean that all methods

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of acquiring civil power are right, nor that there is no preference among forms of government; neither is it to be applied to the exclusion of the duty of disobedience to laws requiring sin, or of the right of revolution. But properly interpreted and applied, this view of civil duty and authority is the settled result of Christian ethics.

Moreover, there always *is* an "existing power," residing in every community of men, latent if not active, which, whenever on any emergency it is called into exercise for the punishment of crime or the protection of innocence, carries with it the sanction of God.

Applying these principles to the case of the New Haven Colony, we find that before the "constituent assembly" in the barn, before the "plantation-covenant," the colony was already a state[1]; and so any malefactor who should have presumed upon prevalent social theories to violate public or private rights or religious duties at that early period, would summarily have found it to be. His judgment would not a long time have lingered, nor his condemnation have slumbered, waiting for a social compact to confer the authority of a magistrate.

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1 "If a ship at sea should lose all its officers, or a shipwrecked crew be cast upon a desert island, this little community would then stand in the condition of a State. The whole would have the right to restrain and constrain each one for the freedom of all."—Hickok's *Moral Science*, p. 219.

It is necessary to guard against a confusion, which seems not unlikely, at the present juncture (1864), to work some damage in our public affairs, between a *State*, and a *State government*. The State government is the outgrowth or ordinance of the State. But by a natural metonymy, the word *State* is often used to mean the government.

P. S. The students of "the judicious Hooker" will remember a passage in the "Ecclesiastical Polity" strikingly parallel to the above from President Hickok. It may seriously be doubted whether Hooker, if he had found himself in New England, would have felt that his principles allowed of the course of nonconformity and schism, which has been pursued by those who call themselves his disciples and justify their practices by quoting his book.

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The divine right of government residing in the little commonwealth, might have come into exercise and manifestation, in various ways. Successive emergencies might have occasioned successive acts of authority, *nemine obstante*, which might have become precedents for others, and so a body of common law, and a sort of British Constitution, have grown up, without one act of deliberate legislation or foundation. The deference towards Eaton might, either explicitly or by the general acquiescence, have committed to him the supreme government of the colony, and at his death have transferred it to his son Or the long continued pressure of military exigencies might have habituated. the people to martial law and settled their military leader into the seat of general authority. All these modes of the origin of governmental institutions in the colony are imaginable; and in any of them might have been inaugurated the power ordained of God. The method of sitting down consciously and deliberately to contrive the institutions under which the inherent authority of the State should express itself, is doubtless a nobler way; a way worthier of such matured and reflective minds as set up the pillars of the New Haven Colony—a way which has since become so exclusively the typical American way of organizing government that we are tempted to think it the only way; but it is not one whit more valid in conferring divine authority than the way practised in the insurrection on the slaver *Amistad*, when the tallest, nimblest and smartest negro in the lot elected himself captain and king, and exacted and received the obedience of the rest.

Now bringing the force of this extended analogy to bear on our main subject of the origin and authority of

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the church, we see at once the futility of those questions whether a neighborhood of "visible saints" "living members of Christ," while "separate and unconnected," constitute a church of Christ;[1] whether "a number of Christians merely living in the same city, town or parish,"[2] but having no common interests, no mutual affections, no stated meetings, and holding themselves aloof from mutual intercourse, are a church. The questions are predicated on an unsupposable hypothesis. That is not the way in which "visible saints" live. When they try to live so, their sanctity becomes invisible at once. They are no more, "visible saints," but visibly unsanctified. "By this we know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren." The problem in theology that begins with supposing a neighborhood of Christians without mutual love and intercourse under the law of Christ, is as rational as a problem in magnetism which should be founded on the supposition of a collection of steel magnets having attraction towards the pole, but no attraction for each other. If, under the laws of human nature, human neighborhood implies human society, and human society implies the state; then *à fortiori*, under the laws of the regenerated nature, Christian neighborhood implies Christian society, and Christian society implies the church. The law of Christ concerning common and mutual Christian duties is already in force, and the authority of administering its earthly sanctions resides with the community of Christians.[3]

1. Scr. Platform, p. 3.

2. Idem. p. 5, and passim.

3. It is amazing to see Dr. Emmons walking straight forward, with his eyes open, into the absurdity that the law of Christ begins to be binding on Christian disciples only when they have mutually agreed to be bound by it; and, by

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As touching the credentials of government in the church, it is hard to see wherein the principle to be applied differs from that which obtains respecting civil government. Under the latter, the individual is required to "submit himself to the powers that be." Under the former, he is required to "obey them that have the rule over him." In either case, the wide generality of the command, interpreted by the inspired absence of express instruction as to the method of appointing and inducting valid officers, points to a like conclusion:—that, under the necessary and obvious limitations, a *de facto* government, in church as in state, is entitled to the allegiance of its subjects.

The illustration of this view by the instance of the New Haven colony is so obvious that it is needful only to hint the main points of it. The church which, according to the uniform laws of the Christian life, had crystallized out of the ship's company during the voyage, having only such slight, informal organization as the circumstances of that temporary mode of life required, was not dissolved when the colonists landed. It was the church authority subsisting among them already, which was expressed in the "plantation-covenant." When, afterwards, the town was "cast into several private meetings wherein they that dwelt most together gave their accounts one to another of God's gracious work upon them, and prayed

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implication that it is binding then only within the bodies that may be formed by "elective affinity." pp. 4, 5.

Quite in accordance with the Doctor's exegesis of Matthew xviii, 15-17, is the common construction of the same passage, which holds it to be a sin to report an offending brother in the lecture-room of the church until after the "first and second steps," but holds it permissible to advertise him "at sight" in the religious newspapers, or in a "Result of Council."

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together, and conferred to mutual edification," and thus "had knowledge, one of another," and of the fitness of individuals for their several places, in the foundation-work, or in the superstructure,[1]—it is possible that they supposed they were preparing to *originate* the church; but it is plain to the looker-on that the very act of "casting the town into meetings" was an act of the church. And the action of the "constituent assembly" in the barn was, like the adoption of our present national constitution, not the founding of a new church or state, but the peaceful revolution of one already in being.

If, within the territory occupied by the colony, a knot of theorizers on politics had conspired to form a separate mutual compact for civil government among themselves, to use a different code of laws upon their members, and to secure a purer democracy or a legitimately descended ruler, the proper name for the act would have been *sedition*. Precisely so, when dissenters from the colonial Church *did*, for no grievance put upon their conscience, but simply in the prosecution of their Church theories or prejudices, split themselves from the congregation, and refuse obedience to the existing government—"to them that had the rule"—and insist on importing for their special use a hierarch in the regular succession, the proper name for their act was *schism*.

But on the other hand, let it be confessed that if the colonial Church had undertaken to exclude from its fellowship Christian disciples, for causes not demanding the censure of the Church, nor discrediting the profession of a Christian faith—if they had reversed the gospel

1. Bacon's Historical Discourses, p. 19.

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principle, and proceeded on the notion that it is better that ten weak disciples should be excluded than that one deceiver should be admitted—if thus they had created outside of their communion a party of Christians whose only opportunity of fellowship was in a separate organization; then the sin of schism would have rested on the heads not of the few, but of the many. The Church itself would have become schismatic. But it is fair to say that this does not seem to have been the sin of the churches of the first nor of the second generation. The general prevalence of it is comparatively modern.

OBJECTIONS TO THIS THEORY OF THE CHURCH.—The objections to be levied against what we have called the Rational and Scriptural Theory of the Church will exactly correspond with those which have been raised, to no effect, against the analogous theory of civil polity. They may be treated with great brevity.

Objection 1. The principle proposed, of the duty of deference to the *de facto* government of the Christian community, cannot be accompanied with any distinct and definite limitation, by which the occasional exceptions in favor of disobedience or revolution can be determined.

The answer to this is to be found, not only in the parallel doctrine and objection in civil polity, but "in almost every part of ethical science." So rarely is the exact boundary between right and wrong to be distinctly defined in a formula—so generally are the final questions on the application of moral rules left open for the decision of the individual conscience—that there is a *prima facie* presumption against any attempt to fix the course of right action on a point of morals by a formula of permanent

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and universal application.[1] The objection is a clear argument in our favor.

Objection 2. Under the doctrine here laid down, it will be impossible to justify the Puritan separations from the Church of England.

The first answer which we would make to this is that it is a small matter to answer it at all. The second, that a true judgment on those acts of separation must depend on the circumstances surrounding each act; on the character of the parish church from which the separatists withdrew—whether it was Christian or unchristian; on the nature of the grievances under which they labored, whether mere annoyances or actual burdens on the conscience; on the probability of bringing the body of the Christian disciples in that community into union under a purer rule. The third answer is that if it does condemn the secession of dissenters from the Church of England, it therebody honors and confirms the judgment of our Puritan forefathers of the best and earliest age, almost all of whom, except the Pilgrims of Plymouth, abhorred the schism of the separatists with a holy horror. The fourth answer will be conclusive in many minds,—that the doubt which it throws over the Puritan separations in England is more than compensated by the discredit which it puts upon many of the Baptist, Episcopalian, and Methodist schisms in New England.

Objection 3. This view discredits many of the local efforts for the propagation of Congregational institutions at the West and elsewhere, as schismatic.

Answer. Very likely.

1. See the ample illustration of this matter, in its political bearing, in Macaulay's History of England, Vol. ii., pp. 103-5, Harper's 12mo. edition.

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Objection 4. This view brings in practical difficulty and confusion, by making it often a matter of doubt what is the Church of Christ in any community, and where its government resides.

Answer. This difficulty is not peculiar to the ecclesiastical application of the theory. It is of frequent occurrence in civil politics. Hardly ever is there a revolution or a considerable attempt at revolution, in which it does not become a very important and very perplexing question to some consciences—Which *are* "the powers that be?" It is a question not only for the passive and indifferent, but for the active leaders of revolution—first whether there is ground and need for revolution, and then whether the dissatisfaction of the people, the incapacity of the administration, and the combination of favoring circumstances have or have not charged them with *the power*, and with a trust for the redress of intolerable grievances, to the discharge of which they are ordained of God. Not to allude to very recent questions of personal duty which may have perplexed honest consciences, the history of the mission of Dudley Mann to Hungary, in quest of a government to recognize, is one case in point Another is the amusing story of Mr. John L. Stephens, whose Travel was never so full of Incidents as when, with a diplomatic commission in his pocket, he explored the various factions of a Spanish American republic, in search of the right government to which to present it.[1]

It cannot invalidate the principle which we have enunciated, that such difficulties are more frequent in ecclesiastical politics than in civil. In secular matters, the

1. Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan. By John L. Stephens.

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necessities of society are such that the rival pretensions of different claimants to the supreme government within the same territory become a nuisance so odious as to be intolerable for an indefinitely protracted period; and as for the settlement of these claims by allowing each claimant to govern its own partisans according to its own laws, the plan is so unnatural, so inimical to the peace of the community, that history has shown no disposition to repeat the solitary instance of it which is found in the present constitution of the Turkish empire, tempered though it is, in that instance, by the beneficent rigors of a supervising despotism.

But the union and communion of all the Christian disciples of any community, instead of being, like political union, a necessity, is only a duty. Consequently when once factions have established themselves in the Christian commonwealth, there is no necessary limit to their continuance from year to year, and from generation to generation. In the course of time the Christian mind becomes so wonted, and the Christian conscience so seared, to the wrong and evil of schism, that the doctrine of the perpetuity of schism is accepted as an integral part of the "evangelical scheme," and the sacred name of *the Church* loses its proper meaning, of the commonwealth of God's people, and becomes synonymous with its old opposite, a αἵρεσις or sect. The "problem of Christian union," which in the beginning no one ever thought of calling a problem, is held to be soluble only by diplomatic dealings between these churches, (which are not churches,) or else by setting up in the vacant place formerly held by the church, a new institution—a Young Men's Christian Association, or a Catholic Basis City Tract Society—that shall

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be the center of Catholic affection and the means of the communion of saints.

In this state of a Christian neighborhood, doubtless the question, Where is the church, is a difficult one. One thing about it is plain, that it is not to be settled by applying worn-out tests, such as papal authority, apostolic succession, structural perfection, or democratic origin to any fragment of the schism, and determining that to be the Church. In some cases it will appear that there is a Catholic church in the place, from which seditious spirits have torn themselves away in wanton schism. Sometimes, that the different churches, separate in name and form, are united in substance and spirit, that their several pastors, co-operating in every good word and work, are really a presbytery or college of ministers for the one Church of Christ in the town. Sometimes it will appear that the Catholic Tract Society has become a sort of church without ordinances, and that the president of the Society is actual bishop of the town. But more commonly the most that can be said is that the church in such a community is existing in a state of schism; as, in the Rome of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the authority of the state might properly be described as dispersed among a number of families and factions. And the best that any one can do in such a case, is, while joining himself in special followship where he will lend himself least to the encouragement of faction, always to hold his supreme allegiance to be due to the interests and authority of the *whole* family that is named of Christ.

It is much in favor of any theory on such a subject as the one which we have in hand, that its chief difficulties lie in matters of application and detail. In these matters

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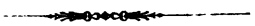
we would not speak with too much confidence. We may have wrought unsuccessfully in developing and applying the analogy which is the theme of our article. But we reach the close of the discussion with increased confidence that in the just treatment of this analogy lies the only hope of solving the problem of ecclesiastical polity.



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III.

CHURCH, PARISH, AND BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.*

THE term HOME EVANGELIZATION has come into recent use as the title of an enterprise in some respects novel, and has thus acquired a conventional and limited sense. In this use, it may be defined as *the work of bringing under Christian care and instruction the entire population of a region occupied by Christian churches.*

It is one of the three grand natural divisions of the aggressive work of the Church. The first is FOREIGN MISSIONS, or the planting of the Gospel and the Church in

* Published in *The Congregational Quarterly* for April, 1862, under the title "Home Evangelization." The writer was at the time "Missionary at Large", for the State of Connecticut, under appointment of the General Association of the State; and his chief thought was to induce the Congregational churches of that State to accept the position of *the parish churches* of the State, leaving to other sects the works of specialists in religion, to gather their congregations here or there by "elective affinity." In pursuance of this idea, he effected a Moral and Religious Census of a large part of the State, the results of which embodied in an octavo volume of statistics, formed the basis of a great deal of good work. But the sectarian idea, as the normal conception of the church, is too deeply imbedded in the Christian mind of America to be easily dislodged. And where the sectarian idea prevails, the parish-idea is impossible.

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heathen lands. The second is HOME MISSIONS, or the establishment and sustentation of Christian institutions by the Churches of a Christian country in destitute regions of the same. And the third is HOME EVANGELIZATIONS.

The name is less convenient and determinate than might be desired. The term "*Thorough Christianization*" has been recommended in place of it; and, again, the title of "The *Home* Home Missions" has been aptly suggested. But the thing signified under these various titles is quite distinct and specific.

The work of Home Evangelization differs more in its methods and agencies from Home and from Foreign Missions, than either of these differs from the other. The main agency of Home Evangelization is the Church. In the Mission work, on the other hand, the Church is not so much a means as an end; the mission-work proper terminating, for a particular region, in the establishment therein of pure and faithful churches. In estimating the progress of a mission-work, we reckon by the number of preachers commissioned, of stations established, of catechumens and converts gained, of churches gathered; and in planning mission operations it is at once a right principle and an apostolic usage, to aim at main centers of influence, and beyond this to be guided by spiritual indications and providential opportunities. On the other hand, we estimate the progress of Home Evangelization inversely by the number of households and souls in a given region yet unreached by Christian influence and instruction; and in planning the work, we make no discrimination in favor of one community or neighborhood to the exclusion of another; but so lay out the work, by a division of the territory, as that every soul of the

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unevangelized population shall come at once under responsible and actual oversight. In this respect, Home Evangelization differs from any existing enterprise of denominational "extension." Reports of General Assemblies and General Associations, "Conventions" and "Convocations," agree in this, that instead of giving account of progress made toward the Christianization of the territories which they represent, they report only progress in sectarian aggrandizement or decline. Their "Narratives of the State of Religion" give no intimations of the State of Irreligion. Their accounts of the state of the churches afford no information of the state of *the people*. The absolute progress which is reported of the several denominations, or of all together, may be a relative loss; and while the churches "sit secure and sing" of their prosperity, the gates of hell may be rejoicing that, whatever may be the growth of Christ's kingdom, it is overmatched by the growth of theirs.

Having now defined Home Evangelization, and distinguished it from the missionary work, whether abroad or at home, and from the work ordinarily taken in charge by the provincial bodies, clerical or ecclesiastical, of different denominations,—having also indicated, incidentally, that the main agency for Home Evangelization is to be *the Church*—we propose to discuss the subject further in the following order:

I. In its relation to the individual Church;

II. In its relation to the mutual organization of the churches of a given province;

III. In its relation to Societies external to the organization of the churches.

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I. *Home Evangelization in its relation to the individual Church.*

When the fact has been successfully pressed on the attention of a New England village or country town, that there is present in their population a very large irreligious element, outside of all ordinary Church influences and "means of grace," one of the first remarks to be expected from among the more earnest of the people, is that "we ought to form a Society to inquire into and attend to this matter." Some recommend, at once, to form a local Bible or Tract Society, ("Auxiliary," &c.;) to which the objection is obvious that as neither Bible nor tract circulation is going to accomplish the whole of the work proposed, nor even any considerable part of it; and as the Society, if organized, could not afford to limit itself to these modes of operation, it would not *be* a Tract Society, and had better not call itself one. A "Young Men's Christian Association" is suggested, which is incompetent to the work for like reasons. There is no reason in excluding aged or middle-aged Christians, or Christian women, from a share in the work, and there are some parts of it that cannot be well done, except by women. If it were further considered what sort of a Society it should be which could advantageously undertake the evangelization of the township, it would be found desirable to have it organized for permanence; constituted of all classes of good Christians, with as little mixture as possible of unbelievers; equipped with all necessary officers and ministers, but able to accommodate itself readily in this to the exigencies of the work; having arrangements and accommodations for frequent stated meetings, where plans may be laid and reports received, and labor may be kept

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in the closest possible relation to prayer, and worship, and the study of the Divine Will. In short, we should have described to us *a Church*. And in any community occupied by a Church, to establish a separate "Society" for the evangelization of the neighborhood, would be simply to erect a rival to the Church, assuming to itself some of the most important functions belonging to the Church by virtue of its divine constitution,—functions without the exercise of which the Church decays.

There is one notable argument urged in favor of depending on *a Society* for Systematic Home Evangelization, rather than on a Church; to wit, that it is "good and pleasant, like the precious ointment upon the head;" that in a work like this, of common interest to all Christians, believers of different sentiments and denominations should have the opportunity of openly uniting.

The argument is suggested by a right and truly Christian impulse, and founded on a misconception as to the sphere and organ of Christian fellowship, too generally prevalent, and too tenaciously rooted in prejudices and institutions to be here refuted in a few words, but which it is essential to the subject in hand distinctly to indicate. The impulse is that yearning for the unity of the Church and that love of all the brethren, which (notwithstanding all apologies for sects, and pleas for perpetual schism put forth in the name of catholicity,) are ever among "the distinguishing traits of Christian character." The misconception consists in believing that a Church is, and ought to be, the embodiment of a schism, the representative of a party, the fractional part of "a denomination;" and that the proper and divinely intended sphere of Christian fellowship, of "the communion of saints" on

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the simple basis of the one faith, is *not* the Church, but—the Tract Society. If you desire Christian union in the evangelization of your town, (and you ought to desire it,) seek it by making your Church a catholic Church, instead of a schismatic one. Take down your diplomatic statement of theological dogmas from where it now stands, as a bar to membership, and receive henceforth, "whosoever will," for the evidence that they believe *on* Christ, and not for their profession of what they believe *about* him. Then you will have "Christian union," not only in this, but in every other proper work of the Church; and if after that your Calvinists or your Arminians, your Episcopalians or your Baptists, or your Congregationalists, desire scope for their various peculiarities of belief, commend them to their respective tract societies and "benevolent institutions."

One highly practical objection to substituting a Society for a Church, in the work now under consideration, is this: that the Society is a temporary institution, the Church a permanent one. Let interest in the work decay, and the Society intermits its meetings, and by and by expires. But however remiss in particular duties the Church may become for the time, it continues in being, ready for the return of *the power*. The Church is built on a rock. The "auxiliary tract society" is not.

How the Church should conduct the work of thoroughly evangelizing its own parish, is a large question. It includes almost the whole subject of the administration of an American church, parish, and "ecclesiastical society." The literature of this subject is singularly meagre, considering its importance, and the fact that it is the field

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of a distinct professorship in so many theological seminaries. On the conduct of a family, of a school, of a singing-school, of a Sunday-school, we have methodical and systematic treatises in abundance, giving useful directions in full detail. But when an inexperienced young man, about to enter on the work of a pastor, asks to be referred to a convenient and judicious manual for his guidance, what book have we to recommend to him?

Of course there is no room for us in this Article to state more than the merest outline of the work of a church in its parish.

First, HAVE A PARISH. That man will deserve well of American Christianity who shall restore to its vocabulary the lost word *parish*, in its proper use and meaning. In our time and country, a minister's parish consists of the families who take pews in the meeting-house, or in some such way voluntarily connect themselves with the congregation. When a minister speaks of the size of his parish, he means the number of families who thus put themselves expressly under his charge, or perhaps the extent of the area within which they reside. When he has gone the round of these families, he has visited his whole parish. There are other families within the same area, that belong to the Baptist or Episcopalian or Roman-catholic parish, and a large number that belong to no parish at all.

Now in the original and proper use of the word,[1] it means a territorial precinct allotted to a particular church

1. We like best the derivation of this word from the low Latin *parochia*, and Greek παροικια—*dwelling near*, i. e., all the people who live near enough to a church to receive its influence.

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as its field of missionary labor, within which that church shall be responsible that no family is left without Christian care and instruction.[1]

Without assuming a circumscribed territory as its field, no church can do anything effective and systematic in the way of Home Evangelization. Without a parish, it may do mission-work, selecting the best points for new stations and centres of usefulness, and aiming at great achievements in the propagation of the faith; but it cannot labor, distinctly and determinately, for the evangelization of *the whole* population, since *the whole* is an indefinite quantity.

Consequently, *the parish* is one of the earliest of Christian institutions, being next in order of time to the Church. Without taking time and space here to hunt up authorities to sustain the remark, we may safely assert that one of the earliest steps after the general establishment of churches throughout the earlier lands of the gospel, must have been the more or less formal recognition by neighboring pastors and churches of the bounds of their respective dioceses or parishes, whereby the *special* responsibility of each for the thorough dissemination of religious truth should be defined. To this day, in countries of early, or of medieval Christianity, the parish-system—hindered and stunted indeed by the overgrowth of corruptions—is extant and useful.

In England, for instance, where this system has had

1. Doubtless many other ideas are *associated* with this word parish,—as, for instance, the idea of prerogative and exclusive spiritual jurisdiction, and the idea of taxation for the support of the parish minister; and doubtless these associations have had much to do in excluding the word from its proper use. But it is used in this article, simply with reference to missionary or evangelising operations. It does not necessarily include more.

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much to contend with, in the deficiencies of the parish clergy, and the withdrawal of great masses of the people into a position of dissent, it is still the chief defense of great tracts and populations from barbarism and utter heathenism;—it has provided some sort of responsible care—in name at least—for every household in the kingdom. It is not without reason that thd *Edinburgh Review*,[1] not wont to be lenient toward public abuses, has pronounced "the parochial system to be one of the greatest and most beneficent of our national institutions."

The idea of the parish as a practical necessity to the church, was clearly conceived and fitly appreciated by the fathers of New England. We may be permitted to speak more specifically of Connecticut, where the definite responsibility of every church for its own neighborhood—its duty of providing Christian instruction and care for all within the fixed boundaries of its parish, were recognized in the legislation of the State. The whole territory of the State was divided and allotted to different churches. There was no hovel so lonely or remote, no wanderer so friendless, no man so outcast and degraded, as to be unprovided with a pastor. And not only this, but every church was provided with a charge—a mission-field.[2] There was no opportunity for any church in that great fellowship of churches which then as now occupied the surface of the State—eased of its responsibility for the soil on which it stood—forgetful of the heathen at its doors—to say to itself, "Soul, take thine ease; thou art

1. *Edinburgh Review*, April 1853. Article on "The Church of England in the Mountains."

2. There were early exceptions to this, but they were so rare as to "prove the rule." The South Church in Hartford was organized in 1669, without definite parochial limits.

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rich and increased in goods; thy services are edifying; thy congregations are full and devout: thy brotherhood of communicants is increasing; thy pews are all rented and occupied; thy pewholders' families are all visited by the pastor; thy pewholders' children all attend the Sunday-school; soul, take thine ease!" The poor were always with them; and not only the poor of the church, but the poor of "the society" or parish.[1] Not for the souls of their church-goers only, but also for the souls of those who *ought* to have been fellow-worshippers with them, but were not worshippers at all, the church was made to feel that it was specially accountable to God and to its sister churches,—accountable, not for a *congregation* only, but for a parish.[2]

1. It is almost unaccountable that our fathers, so intelligently holding on to the *idea* of the parish, should have rejected the *word*, and substituted for it, in its application to a territorial precinct the awkward phrase, "Ecclesiastical Society." They used the word parish *malo sensu*. Perhaps they though it easier to use a new name, and an awkward one, than to recover the old one from unpleasant associations.

2. The difference between a parish minister and the minister of a congregation, in the English Church, is thus delineated by Conybeare, in the famous article in the *Edinburgh Review*, (Oct. 1853,) entitled "Parties in the Church of England." The sketch requires but trifling modification to adapt it to our own meridian.

Their theory [i.e. that of the "Recordite" or ultra-Evangelical clergy] naturally leads them to neglect the mass of their parishioners, and confine their attention to the few whom they regard as the elect..... But, in truth, a Recordite clergyman is out of his element in a parish. When he has one, indeed, he often labors most conscientiously among his parishioners; but the parochial system, with its practical recognition of the brotherhood of all Christians, cannot be made to square with his theological exclusiveness. What he likes is, not a parish, but a congregation. The possession of a chapel in a large town, which he may fill with his own disciples, is his ideal of clerical usefulness.... In fact, few positions are, in a worldly point of view, more enviable that of a popular incumbent of a town chapel. No vestry patriots vex his meditative moments; no squabbles with itthe-abhorring farmers disturb his sleep. When he looks round from his pulpit, his glance is not met, like that of the parochial clergyman, by the stare of stolidity or indifference; but he beholds a throng of fervent worshipers, who hang upon his lips, and whose very presence as voluntary members of his congregation is a pledge of their personal attachment to himself. There is something not merely soothing to vanity, but animating to the better parts of his nature, in such a spectacle. The zealous man must feel his zeal quickened, the pious, his piety warmed, by such evidence of sympathy; and among the Recordite clergy, men of zeal and piety are not lacking. But besides these

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Under the next division of this article, we shall mention again the obvious necessity of division into parishes, for the evangelization of a province, by the concurrent labors of many churches. The point of the present argument is that the recognition of definite territorial limits to its field of labor is essential to systematic, hopeful and effective labor for "home evangelization" in an individual Church.

Secondly, having "first got a parish," UNDERSTAND THE CONDITION OF IT.

Among the points to be inquired after, are

1. The population of the parish.
2. The number of church-going families in it.
3. The number of non-church-going families.
4. The total number of church-sittings.
5. The total church attendance, counted on two or three successive fair Sundays.
6. The total church membership of the parish, of all denominations.
7. The number of children in the parish, as officially reported to the State.
8. The proportion of these in the Sunday Schools.

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advantages, he is exempted from all the more burdensome responsibilities of the pastoral charge. His flock consists exclusively of the wealthy or easy classes, so that the painful task of attempting to enlighten brutal ignorance, and to raise degraded pauperism is not among his duties. Even if a local district has been nominally attached to his chapel, its poor inhabitants form no part of his congregation, or, at most, only a straggling representative of their class lurks here and there, behind the pulpit or beneath the organ. The duties of such a district, if there be any, are performed by the curate, who reads the prayers, and is kept to "serve tables," while the incumbent devotes himself to "the ministry of the Word."

His ministry consists essentially in preaching two extempore sermons on the Sunday. But there are other duties incidentally pertaining to his office. One of the most important is that of attending the evening parties of his wealthier adherents,...

Undoubtedly there is a strain of caricature in the above, and still more in some of the succeeding paragraphs of that lively article. But the force of the caricature lies in the large element of truthful delineation which it contains.

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9. What are the efforts already in operation to reach the unevangelized? And with what success have they been attended?

10. What influences are operating against the gospel? To what extent, and with what success are they engaged? For example, dram-shops, gambling "saloons," houses of ill-fame, infidel lectures and clubs, demoralizing amusements.

11. What are the resources of the church for its work?

The town must be one of unusual sanctity, or the church one of unusual intelligence, in which the answers to some of these questions are not found startling and awakening in a high degree. And simply for this end, as a stimulus to exertion, and as itself an earnest of thorough work to come, the thorough exploration of the parish will be worth all that it costs. Ordinarily it will not cost much, either in money or in labor. In country towns and small villages each family knows all about its neighbors, for a considerable distance, in every direction; and the information furnished at second-hand is often more detailed and more trustworthy, than could be got by inquiries from house to house. In cities, the labor is far greater, to be sure, but then the resources of the city churches are every way superior.

But the great value of such inquiries to stimulate and arouse the church, is not their highest value. They are needed, not only in their gross results, but in full detail, in making out the plan of operations of the church. Thorough inquiry is *essential* to intelligent and effective operations. The church, or at least the pastor, must have before the eye a minute map of the field, and work by it.

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Thirdly, ACTIVE OPERATIONS.

The powers of the Church, in its conflict with the kingdom of darkness, are (according to the classification of Dr. Chalmers,) Attractive and Aggressive. Our subject is concerned with both classes, but chiefly with the latter.

What particular measures shall be adopted by a particular church in a particular parish, must be determined, in great measure, in view of the results of the *inquiry* which has just been recommended. To insist on a routine of operations for all parishes alike, would be quackery.

But there is one measure recommended by primitive and apostolic usage, which must underlie all others, and that measure is *Systematic Visitation from house to house.* Whether among the other means of the church's activity, one or the other is to have the greater prominence,—whether the Sunday School, or Bible reading, or Tract distribution, or Mission-chapels, or open-air preaching, they must all depend, for their best efficiency, on labor from house to house. Undoubtedly, at the same time, for its *best* efficiency, systematic visitation depends, in turn, on its connection with some or all of these other forms of labor, and its relation to the church and its ministry.

This measure of Systematic Visitation has become the subject of a literature of its own, and need not, therefore, be described at length here.

Fourthly, ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH FOR THE WORK OF HOME EVANGELIZATION.

One way of organizing for this work would be to have a Society within the Church, specially devoted to it. But inasmuch as the work devolves, as a duty, on *all* the

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members of the church, according to their several gifts, such a society would be substantially an "*ecclesiola in ecclesia*," and might tend to schism. Nevertheless, where the mass of the church is indolent or unfaithful, it might be necessary for those willing to work to get together by themselves. An example of this sort of organization is to be found in the "church-guilds" of some Episcopalian churches.

But the normal and best method, is, doubtless, that the church, *as such*, should enter the work. It is divinely organized for this already. It would be difficult to suggest a form of institution for local evangelization, better fitted for all possible exigencies of the work, than the no-form of the primitive church. What officers it needs, it takes. If there is extra service of "daily ministration," it "looks out" for a committee of deacons. For all other uses, it has officers to correspond: "first, apostles; secondarily, prophets; thirdly, teachers; after that, miracles; then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues,"—not only *three* orders of ministers, but four—five—a dozen, if there is occasion for them. The one constant thing in the constitution of the primitive churches, is that it is constantly flexible and variable, according to the exigencies of time, place and need. It would be impossible more strictly, at this hour, to define, *à priori*, the form of the best organization for Home Evangelization.

II. HOME EVANGELIZATION IN ITS RELATION TO THE MUTUAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCHES OF A GIVEN PROVINCE.

It is obvious that when a certain province is to be

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evangelized by the joint labors of several churches within it, these labors must be prosecuted by the individual churches, not only in general sympathy and in pursuit of a common end, but with explicit concert, and stated mutual consultation. Such consultation is necessary in order to a distribution of the field into parishes, without which some parts of the field will be disproportionately tended, and other parts neglected; in order to the incitement of mutual responsibility, without which the parishes of some churches will be like the field of the sluggard, and there will be no provision for "giving them unto other husbandmen;" and in order to free mutual communication and public report of means used, and results attained, the use of which will tend to give stability to the work.

That such alliance of churches for this object may be joined between churches of different denominations, is proved by a happy experiment in the city of Brooklyn. And this alliance is not liable to the objection to confederations on the "Catholic basis," inasmuch as it implies no compromise of individual convictions, and no pledge of neutrality. But the parties to such an understanding come into it as *churches*, and not as parts of a "denomination." Any diplomacy between the representatives of different sects, would inevitably wind up in a quarrel.

But there are a few cases in which the whole territory of a State is fairly occupied by the churches of a single denomination.[1] In such cases, arrangements for the

1. It is remarkable that the only instances of this, in the United States, are the cases of the general prevalence of *Congregationalism*, in the New England States. All the early Church establishments of other denominations in our country have been supplanted on the soil which they once occupied. Episcopacy

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thorough Evangelization of the State, need not depend on the success of any negotiation between churches of different sentiments. The arrangements can be made, and ought to be made, by "the standing order." They ought to assume, not the honors or prerogatives, but the duties, which belong to parish churches.

These duties were the birthright of the Puritan churches of New England. But they show a willingness to sell this birthright without getting so much as a mess of pottage in exchange for it. When the territorial charge of each church ceased to be marked out, for purposes of taxation, by the Legislature, it ought to have been designated for purposes of evangelization, by the council or conference of churches. If that had constantly been done, the mission-field of each church would have been distinct; the whole territory would have been parcelled out to the responsible care of the churches. The charge of each church would have been separated from that of its neighbor by cleancut lines, instead, as now, of broad, vague bands of neutral territory, liable to be ravaged by local or sectarian rivalry, or (more commonly) to fall under neglect, and be given over to ignorance, under the plea of a lack of special responsibility, and the fear of trenching on the field of one's neighbor. The authentic returns made to the Connecticut Home Evangelization Committee, show that the worst desolations of that State lie in these neutral regions midway between the country churches.

There are sundry objections suggested against the plan of an union of the Congregational churches, say of a

has at times almost died out in Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Congregationalism only has shown the qualities of stability and tenacity of life. For authorities and figures, see the "Report of Connecticut Home Evangelization Committee for 1860."

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county or half-county, for the common interests of their local aggressive work:

1. That it would be exclusive and sectarian.

As Congregational churches are actually organized and administered, on a schismatic basis, with a "cunningly devised" formula of admission to keep out from their membership all but the eligible sort of Christians,—the objection is not without force. But it is to be obviated, not by a compact between one order of schismatic churches and another, by which mutual toleration shall be secured, and schism be recognized as a Christian institution; but by making the parish church themselves catholic or "union" bodies, and leaving no excuse for schism. This remark opens into a large subject, for which we have no room at present.

2. That people will not be governed by any parish lines in deciding to what churches they will belong.

Of course not; and as this division is not proposed to affect the relation of a church to the church-going people, but only to aid in its mission-work among the non-church-goers, the parish lines will not interfere with the largest liberty of any worshipper.

3. That it would be impossible to restrain any church from doing good as it has opportunity, whether in its own parish or in that of another church; or, *if* possible, it would be wrong.

And here, again, the objection grows out of a misconception of the proposal; the plan is simply that each church shall have a distinct field for which to be *specially* responsible, without suffering any restraint on its surplus activity on other fields.

4. That you could not compel a church to enter into

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this arrangement, or to undertake and prosecute the work in its appointed parish.

Which is true. The church could be *invited* by its neighbors to co-operate in a work of common importance to all the churches and to their Head. The boundaries of its field could be arranged by agreement among its neighbors. If a church declined to report the progress of its parish-work, the neighbor churches might send thither and inquire into the facts—we have no law, yet, (in Connecticut) against asking questions—and report the result. If a church was remiss in its work, the fact might appear in the annual report on the progress of religion in the district. If a church should obstinately refuse to labor for the unevangelized in its parish, the vineyard might be taken from it, and neighboring churches might agree to care for it as a mission-field. In an extreme case, if a church should seem actually to renounce its essential duty of preaching to the poor, the neighbor churches aggrieved by such a scandal might refuse its fellowship. But it would not be possible, and probably not desirable, to use compulsion.

5. That such an agreement between neighboring churches is unsuited to the genius of the Congregational order.

If this objection is valid—if the Congregational polity can indeed plead *incompetency* to the systematic care of the population of a district or province, the confession is a weighty argument against that order of church government. That it is not valid, the whole history of Congregationalism, both in the Apostolic age, and in the earlier periods of New England, sufficiently proves.

The exigencies of the Home Evangelization work, if

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they do not find, will certainly create, an arrangement of District and State "Conferences." And this is one of the admirable incidental benefits of the work to the churches. Such arrangements for mutual counsel and correspondence as grow out of the necessities of the common aggressive work of the churches are the best possible arrangements for that purpose. Such meetings as they would contemplate, being directed to a specific object, and that object not the internal administration and prosperity, but the outward and aggressive action, of the church, would avoid the objections commonly alleged against "standing councils." They would be preferable to those church-conferences which are called simply for the purposes of edification and devotion; for they would propose as their main subject, a matter of the greatest moment to the church and to the people—one which appeals most deeply to the religious affections, and which compels the sense of human inadequacy and dependence on God. The worship and the mutual counsel of a meeting engaged in such a work would be full of the mind of Christ. They would be all the more fervent in spirit, as they were not slothful in business.

The annual report of a State conference fully and earnestly engaged in the work of Home Evangelization, would be something quite unprecedented in value to all who love the kingdom of Christ. It would be very different from the brief bit of rhetoric annually exhibited in many States under the title of a "Narrative of the state of Religion";—very different, also, from the elaborate and useful statistics published by various bodies, from year to year, of the condition of "our denomination." It would contain an account of the religious condition and

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wants of the population of the State. It would exhibit the resources of the kingdom of Christ, in the churches, not of one, but of all denominations, to supply these wants. It would show what was doing in each parish to reach the unevangelized, first by the parish church, then by the various churches of other denominations operating within the parish. It would describe the various methods of labor used by the different churches, and the comparative success that had attended them. And each year it would afford a complete strategic map of the campaign for the year to come. Such a report as this would stimulate and sustain the efforts of each church in its own parish, of each district-conference in its own district. The cost of it, thus expended, would secure more of effective missionary work, than vastly larger sums spent in hiring missionaries, or in any other way. And the cost of it need not be much. The reports of district conferences, made out after a concerted form, and uniformly printed, if stitched together, with the doings of the General Conference, would make the general report which would be needed by pastors and others who desired to know the work in its general relations, but could be used, each district report by itself, for ordinary local circulation.

A work so conducted by the Congregational churches of any New England State, (except Rhode Island,) would more elevate and assert the dignity of those churches than any other. At the same time, it would be clearly relieved of all embarrassments that attend compacts and alliances between different denominations. Not depending on the outward consent of these, it would go forward constantly with their unintended co-operation.

And yet—and therefore—this work would be more

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truly and largely catholic than any proposed form of stipulated co-operation. It would recognize the Christian labors of all Christian churches in their due relation to the one work of Christ; and this, ever, without recognizing the popular "evangelical" principle of the perpetuity of schism as the normal condition of the Church.

III. Home Evangelization in its relation to Societies external to the organization of the churches.[1]

The various Societies with which Home Evangelization, in a New England State, has apparent relations, may be classified as follows:

1. *Home Missionary Societies*, e. g. The American Home Missionary Society; The Congregational Union; The Sunday School Union.

2. *Societies for the evangelization of particular classes of People*, e. g. The American Christian Union; the Society for "meliorating" the Jews; the Seamen's Friend Society.

3. *Societies for the development and enforcement of particular ideas in morals and religion*, e. g. Temperance, Anti-Tobacco, Anti-Slavery, Sabbath, and Systematic Beneficence Societies.

4. *Publishing Societies*, e. g. Bible, Tract, and Sunday School Societies.

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1. From the definition of the subject at the outset of this article, it will be seen that its arguments can have but a *modified* application to those States which are as yet incompletely furnished with churches, and are therefore the field rather of Home Missions than of Home Evangelization. The remarks under this third head are specially applicable to those New England States which are fairly occupied, through their whole territory, by Congregational churches willing to co-operate for the entire evangelization of the people.

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5. *Philanthropic Societies*, e.g. Children's Aid, Colonization, Female Guardian, City Relief Societies.

1. The American Home Missionary Society does not interfere in any way with the work of the Gospel in the old New England States. It leaves the work to be administered, as it ought to be, by the churches or pastors of those States in council, and stands related to them only as the recipient of their surplus revenue. This is well.

Neither the Congregational Union nor the Sunday School Union undertakes to accomplish a complete Home Missionary work, and yet they each do a work without which that of the Home Missionary Society is incomplete. And each of these two Societies does some of its work in New England. The work of the American Sunday School Union in Connecticut, for a few years past, has been great and excellent.

But if it is well that the *Home Mission* work within these States should be directed, not by a National Board in New York, but from within the State itself, would it not be likewise well if the Church-building and Sunday School work within these States should be arranged in like relations to the National Work? There has never been any clash between the Sunday School and Church-building movements in New England, on the one hand, and the Home Mission and Home Evangelization work, on the other, and it is desirable there never should be; and to this end these several courses of evangelical labor, which are so palpably parts of the same general work, should be included in some comprehensive plan, and prosecuted not without concert.

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2. *Societies for the evangelization of particular classes of people.*

There is reasonable ground for doubt whether Societies of this class have any proper relation to the work of the gospel in a Christian State. They seem to be founded on a misapplication of the economical principle of the division of labor. Given a certain province to be evangelized, occupied by different classes and professions of people, it seems to be imagined that the highest economical advantage requires that one Board should undertake the conversion of one class of people, another Board of another class, and so on until the whole community is provided for. If this policy were carried out, instead of a union of the churches of any State for carrying forward the work of the gospel in their several parishes, and thus in the whole State, we should have one Board and set of missionaries for converting Romanists, another for "meliorating" Jews, another for disenchanting Spiritists; —one mission to Irish, one to Germans, one to negroes, one to Yankees, one to sailors, one to tailors, and one to hatters. The fact is—the *general* fact, to which, doubtless, there are exceptions—that the proper *main* division of the work of the gospel, is the *geographical* division of the field. In any community, among all its classes, the work of evangelization is essentially one work, and the means to be used are the same—the gospel and the church. If there are large and peculiar classes of population in the community or the State, they may well be made subjects of special report to the church, or to the council of churches. But to have different sets and systems of national missions to these different classes, is not only to commit a grievous waste of resources, but to intersect and

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discompose any plans of systematic Home Evangelization which may have been entered on by the churches of any particular province, or State.

3. *Societies for the enforcement and propagation of particular ideas in morals and religion.*

In special emergencies, societies of this class have been mightily effective of useful reforms. Of this a reference to the list of them gives sufficient evidence. But the same reference will show that they lack powers of endurance. They sometimes run for a while, but by and by Satan hinders them, and the gates of hell prevail against them. They cannot be relied on for a long fight with wickedness. When the emergency is past for which they were providentially designed, their influence becomes small, their field of operations small, their *legitimate* expenses small, and commonly their men become very small indeed, and the character of the Society itself tends to become narrow, querulous and vicious.

The duty of a great enterprise like that of Home Evangelization towards one-idea Societies, is to use them when, and while, they are useful, and to avoid entangling alliances.

4. *Publishing Societies.*

These institutions have two departments of labor, entirely distinct in idea, but more or less confounded in practical operation; — the Manufacturing and Mercantile department, and the Charitable and Missionary department. Some of these institutions, as, for instance, the Sunday School Union and the Boston American Tract Society, attempt in good faith to keep these two departments quite separate in administration; but with very

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partial success. Nevertheless, the distinction is clear enough for us to follow in this discussion.

(1.) The relation which the conductors of the Home Evangelization enterprise bear to publishing Societies considered as manufacturing and mercantile corporations, is simply that which they bear to other parties in the same line of business; — that of customers for such goods as we want to buy, and as they can sell us to the best advantage. It is highly important to churches and missionary societies as purchasers, that they should not be exclusively the customers of any one or two parties. And this, not only for economical reasons, but because they thus shut themselves up to a comparatively narrow range of selection, instead of entering the whole market, and the whole field of Christian literature. By confining themselves to the issues of "Catholic basis" societies, in all large operations by means of books, our churches have needlessly shut themselves out from many of *the best* books for popular use—including many books whose only fault is that they are not silent on important truths assailed *from within the Church.*

(2.) In their capacity as missionary institutions, it does not appear that the Publishing Societies can advantageously aid the work of Home Evangelization.

The missionary operations of the Bible and Tract Societies are included under two heads:

a. Making grants of money and books for missionary purposes.

b. Employing agents to sell and distribute books, and (incidentally to this work) to preach the gospel.

a. Under the first head, the relation of Home Evangelization in the old States to these Societies may

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be defined very shortly and decisively. Considering that the current contributions of the churches of those States are much more than enough to pay for all that they want in the way of books, it is neither needful nor desirable that they should be beholden to these Societies for gratuities. It is better that from the money by them contributed, should first be drawn whatever may be wanted for home use, and expended for the best books wherever they can be got cheapest, by no means refusing to circulate books that vindicate truth that has been assailed.

As to the question whether the surplus should go to the publishing societies at all, that is a question on which there is a great deal to be said, but it does not immediately pertain to the subject of this article.

b. Can these Societies help the work of Home Evangelization through "Colportage" operations?

No: for several reasons.

First, A manufacturing and trading corporation is constitutionally unfitted for conducting missionary operations. Its eye is not single. It has goods to sell, as well as souls to save. With the fairest intentions in the world, its managers cannot help seeing, whenever anything needs to be done, in city or country, in army or navy, that the only thing to do it with is a bunch of their cheap and beautiful publications. The wonders which were formerly wrought by "the printed page" are now promised through the agency of "the flexible cover." Each of these corporations claims to be the "old, original Dr. Jacob Townsend," that its own list of remedies forms the only panacea, and that all othsrs are counterfeits. Is a company, pre-committed to such convictions as these,

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bound to them by its constitution and antecedents and by grave financial and commercial interests, the best directory of a system of Christian missions?

Secondly, If there is to be a band of itinerant missionaries employed in any of the older States; they ought to be directed from within the State, and by the churches and pastors of the State, and not by a "National" committee from outside. A general good-will and fraternal disposition on the part of the outsiders is not enough. It will not save them from intersecting with cross purposes any plans which the allied churches of the State may attempt to pursue for Home Evangelization. The work which these Societies propose to do through their "colporters," is only a part of the general work of the gospel which belongs to the churches. It ought to be included in any comprehensive system of evangelization.

Thirdly, If we are to have a system of Lay-missionaries (and a great deal may be said in favor of such a system, for certain uses,) it is better to have *missionaries* who shall circulate Bibles and tracts incidentally to the work of preaching the gospel, rather than *book-agents*, salaried by the churches, who shall preach the gospel incidentally to the work of peddling books.

Fourthly, The principles of economy enunciated above, in speaking of "Societies for the evangelization of particular classes of people," apply in general to all Societies which propose to employ sets of missionaries to do a petty or fractional work, instead of doing the whole work of the gospel. What gain is there, in the case of a particular town or county, in having one man to traverse the whole field to circulate Bibles, another to scatter

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tracts and books, another to found Sunday-Schools and gather the children into them, and another yet to preach the gospel, instead of letting the man that preaches the gospel, himself do these other things, which are properly part of his work?

Fifthly, The missionary labors of the Book-concerns, in fields of Home Evangelization, are not only prosecuted at an economical disadvantage—they are an actual *hindrance* to thorough and earnest parochial labor on the part of the churches. Every intelligent and diligent pastor or lay-evangelist reckons the judicious distribution of good books as among his best helps in the work of the gospel. The interference of the "colporter," or Bible agent, cripples him in this arm of his power. Before, he might have established a tie of gratitude and affection between himself or the Church, and some neglected family, by the gift of a Bible or of some other good book. And the good seed thus planted he might have watched and tended and watered from time to time. But the Bible agent comes, hurries from house to house, drops a Bible here and a Bible there, gathers up a few choice cases of "Alarming Destitution" for the Annual Report, and goes on his way rejoicing. The Directors in the grand room in Astor Place read his letters and give devout thanks (it has been decided to be not unconstitutional for them to give thanks,) for the good that has been done. They never hear of the good that has been hindered.[1]

1. Our attention was first attracted to this evil during a visit to the Syrian Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Our missionaries were grievously complaining of the mischief wrought by the well-intended labors of an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society. For the space of a generation they had been laboring to train the people to value the Bible; to make sacrifices in order to own it; to buy it; to treasure it and keep it; in some measure they were succeeding, when the British and Foreign

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The conclusion, then, to which we come, is that according to their present modes of working, the Bible and Tract Societies can render no other service to the Home Evangelization work than that which is rendered by publishers of good literature generally. There may be other methods—we believe that there are—in which a Society for Promoting the Circulation of Good Books could accomplish greater and most desirable ends, by means liable to none of the above mentioned objections.[1]

6. *Philanthropic Societies.*

The proper relation of the Home Evangelization work to Societies of this class may best be defined by the statement of certain general principles.

(1.) The practice of works of mercy is declared by divine example and command to be the proper accompaniment and adjuvant of the preaching of the gospel It

gentleman arrives with a big packing-case of books, which he gives away right and left, *plenis manibus*, and writes home to the Bible Society in London of his Glorious Work. For some months thereafter our missionaries were gathering in the fruits of his labors, in the shape of highly scriptural wrappers to successive bars of soap, chops of mutton, and other vendibles from the hucksters of Beirût.

1. The subject, but not the limits, of this article, would justify us in discussing at length a graver charge against the Bible Society's policy, which we are prepared to substantiate by evidence, but which we have room only to state.

It is this, that the Bible Society, by sedulously discouraging the trade in Bibles, has driven them out of the ordinary market, and made them purchaseable only through its own stipendiaries, or those of its auxiliaries. In attempting the circulation of the Scriptures by sale, it defiantly overrides the Laws of Trade which are as much God's laws as the law of gravitation is, and affects to substitute for them its inefficient apparatus of Auxiliaries and agents.

Whatever be the cause, the effect is unquestionable. The Report of the Connecticut Home Evangelization Committee for 1860, made up from actual canvass of the State, reports that in the country towns, generally, there are *no Bibles kept for sale.* Is this true of any other article of general household use and demand? Would it be true of the Bible, if the circulation of it by sale were entrusted to free trade and not to a monopoly? And can the Bible Society do a better service for the circulation of the Word of God, than to "stand out of its sunshine" and let it "have *free course and be glorified?*"

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is a proof of the presence of the Christ, that "the deaf hear, the lepers are cleansed, the lame walk, the poor have the gospel preached unto them." And these good works ought to be performed, not simply for their relation to the success of preaching, but for the love of them, and as accomplishing in themselves an ultimate, though inferior, good. When we do good to men's bodies, simply for the sake of reaching their souls, we are apt to be found out in our device, and thus to lose the very thing we are aiming at.

(2.) All public arrangements for doing good to the community, inasmuch as they spring from the prevalence of the gospel, ought to be outwardly, as they are in fact, associated with the gospel, that Christ may have the glory.

(3.) A plan of evangelization, whether for a parish or a State, ought to comprehend, as far as may be, arrangements for promoting the bodily welfare of the people. And it is desirable that the Church and the minister of the gospel should undertake as much as possible of this work, leaving as little as possible for the civil authorities and for merely secular associations.

(4.) But there are certain methods of doing good which require larger organizations than churches to conduct them, and different organizations. Such, for example, are the establishment of Hospitals and Orphan Asylums, and the conducting of systems of emigration, as in the case of the Children's Aid and Colonization Societies. As far as possible the churches should be *patrons* rather than beneficiaries of such institutions; encouraging them by making use of their accommodations at a fair price for what they receive, and assisting them otherwise, as by

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contribution. It would be well if churches and Evangelization Unions should own the right of presentation to Hospitals and Orphan Asylums, and if benevolent men wishing to render service to such institutions, should do it by purchasing for the Church the privilege of sending the poor to them. But the work from house to house—the friendly and Christian work connected with these institutions—ought to be performed, as far as possible, by the Church and Evangelist, in the name of Christ, so as to leave as little as possible to be done by the philanthropic society, in the name of humanity.

We rest the discussion here, having traversed the subject, not exhausted it. If we seem in anything to have spoken curtly and dogmatically, it is because the limits of space forbade circumlocution and apology, and our conviction of the truth and importance of many of the thoughts above set forth, demanded at least the attempt to express them. If we have seemed *radical*, will not our readers at least ask, before condemning, whether the blame of it ought not to be laid on *radical errors in existing usages and institutions?*

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IV.

CONFESSIONS OF A HIGH-CHURCHMAN.*

Bryan Maurice, or The Seeker. By Rev. WALTER MITCHELL. Philadelphia: Lippincott. 12mo.

THIS is a volume of Episcopalian polemics under the form of a novel. It makes "the epic plunge" at once *in medias res*, with a discussion on the Pentateuch, and winds up with a wedding, and red fire, and "the solemn cares of a Missionary Bishopric," with a handsome Gothic church and parsonage for the back scene. The story is entirely subordinate to the theological intent of the author, and serves mainly as a setting for his brilliants of controversial divinity; so that the book takes place in literature with a class of school-books once in vogue, such as "Conversations on Chemistry between a Mother and three Daughters," or "Uncle Peter's Talks upon English Grammar with his Little Friends," in which it was conceived that the driest studies might be capable of a certain dramatic fascination; or rather with that large

* From the *New Englander* for October, 1867.

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and still growing class of popular discussions, the latest representative of which we see advertised under the title "Dialogues on Ritualism between a Layman and his Rector," and the advantage of which is that therein the ill-favored opponent of the writer's pet doctrines can be made, in spite of himself, to defend sentiments which he would abhor, with weak arguments which he would despise, and then be overwhelmed with sudden and quick-witted rejoinders which the author had dreamed of for a week, wishing that some one would only say such foolish things, that he might seize his chance to make such bright replies. This sort of controversy is conceived to have many of the advantages of actual tug-of-war, with none of its perils. The intellectual satisfaction of it to the writer, if not quite like

"the joy which warriors feel
In foemen worthy of their steel,"

may at least be likened to the martial glory of a sham-fight at a militia training; or to the excitement of the combat in a Punch-and-Judy show, when the left-hand puppet is so horribly banged with that frightful club by the right-hand puppet, or to the fierce joys of the gaming-table, as realized by the Marchioness in "The Old Curiosity Shop," when she played at cribbage over her orange-peel-and-water in the solitude of Sampson Brass's back-kitchen, and kept tally for the right hand against the left.

Of course, then, it would not be fair to criticise "Bryan Maurice" as a novel. Not but that there are points of interest about it in this aspect. We regard the adventure which is the hinge of the story as one of the boldest strokes of the pen in recent fiction. The two lovers go

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down on the same plank in the wreck of the Arctic, paddle off in different directions under water, and come up, one in Nantucket and one in Halifax, never to hear of each other again until they are both whistled up by the call-boy in time for the wedding-scene in the last act. There is nothing quite equal to this, we think, either in Scott or in Bulwer.

And yet it would be equally unreasonable to criticise the book as an argument. There *is* a serious, though unsuccessful, purpose of argument in it; a number of the old stock defenses of the high-church faction in the Episcopal Church are neatly stated, and several fair hits, together with some foul ones, are made at his antagonists; but, as a general thing, the writer "fights as one that beateth the air," when he strikes out against the communion of Christian believers outside of his sect, in consequence of his ignorance of their relative position and views.

But "Bryan Maurice" has, nevertheless, a certain ponderable and mensurable value, of a sort which its author, perhaps, did not think of in the first rapture of publication. It is worth something as *Confessions*. For the book is, plainly enough, autobiographical. The scenes of it, described with pre-Raphaelite minuteness, when not openly named, are recognized, and meant to be recognized, as the places of the writer's residence; and at Boston and Cambridge, at Norowam, which is Stamford, and at the Cranmer Divinity School, Broadwater, which is the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Connecticut, the writer takes the portraits of various acquaintances in public and in private stations, which he designates by the most transparent pseudonyms, and hangs out along his

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pages for the public entertainment, His style of art is literal rather than imaginative, and his pictures often depend for recognition rather on strongly marked peculiarities in the cut of the whiskers or the curl of the hair, or on the names or official titles written up under them, than on any lively delineation of character. But the most marked trait of his style is the constancy with which his portraits are flattered up towards his highest ideal of manly and womanly beauty just in proportion as the sitter coincides with him in his theological position. For this, as well as for some other reasons, we are inclined to class his efforts at character-painting among his acquaintances in successive dwelling-places, with the works, not so much of the painters, and sculptors, as of those humbler "artists," whose studios trundle upon wheels from village to village as the exigencies of business demand. Good likenesses are promised, and satisfaction guaranteed, only to those who come within the narrow range and focus of his camera. If none but Episcopalians of the right grade are portrayed to the last hair with a noble distinctness, —if Congregationalists are blurred into phantoms, and Unitarians distorted into monsters, is it *his* fault, quotha, that they would stay in their absurd positions, instead of coming up upon his platform and inserting their heads between the prongs of his standard of orthodoxy?

It is an incidental disadvantage of the author's free-and-easy method of dealing with the persons of his various acquaintances, that it necessarily brings his own personality strongly into view. If a late student at Cambridge College and Middletown Theological School, and convert from Unitarianism to the Episcopal Church, leads his hero in the character of a Unitarian "seeker"

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of the Episcopalian ministry, through his own old haunts and experiences, with free comments on his old instructors and neighbors from the author's point of view, it is all very well to call him "Bryan Maurice," or Childe Harold, if he choose, but it will be impossible thereby to avert the universal inference that the book is an *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, and that the paragon with the romantic name and history is a more or less idealized "portrait of the author."

It is this consideration to which Mr. Mitchell owes his title to the honor of a special Article in the *New Englander*. We would not unduly disparage the value of his opinions and arguments. But his *testimony* concerning himself, the representative of a class, especially when it is given unconsciously, and most of all when it inclines against the witness and his sect or set, is of more importance still. Let us glance, then, at the story of Bryan Maurice.

He is introduced as a recent graduate of Harvard College, a Unitarian, twenty-three years old, making the grand tour. On the way to Rome he falls in with Gardiner, an Episcopalian minister of magnificent personal appearance, with "white and very handsome hands," and "high and ample forehead," and to him he opens some of his sceptical difficulties. At Rome, he is present at the death-bed of a college classmate, when Gardiner administers the Lord's Supper. Maurice looks on, never before having seen this ordinance, as much interested as an intelligent Pagan might have been in the absolute novelty of it. He discovers, to his amazement, the indications of there having been an ancient Christian church in Rome, and is becoming interested in Gardiner's explanations of the facts in a "Protestant

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Episcopalian" sense, when he is drawn insidiously into an ambuscade, through a mysterious letter, by that dreadful, though somewhat familiar character, the "Jesuit in disguise." Snatched by Gardiner from this Scylla, he steers easily clear of the Charybdis of the American chapel, where he finds incompatible contradictions in the preaching, on successive Sundays, of Christian ministers of different denominations. Just at this juncture he meets, under interesting circumstances, with an altogether bewitching little Quakeress turned Episcopalian, from Philadelphia, who goes through and through his affections by the insidious but irresistible process of asking his advice and guidance, at their first meeting, on a question of duty concerning her baptism. He goes to church with her at the English chapel, where he is deeply impressed (of all things in the world!) with the solemnity of the *Commination Service!* and when, after church, in answer to his declaration, "but I am not an Episcopalian," she looks up with her lovely eyes, and says, "You will be; nothing else will satisfy you; *something tells me* that you will" —the reader with half an eye, discerns that it is all up with poor Maurice, and that "fate and metaphysical aid" will do the business for him by the time he gets to the last chapter. On the homeward trip, he has the charming creature for a fellow-passenger aboard the "Mystic" (Arctic), and when the unhappy steamer is about going down after a collision, she has a fresh presentiment, and assures him that "*something tells her*" that he will come out right after all.

When the hero finds himself ashore, safe and thankful, he goes with earnest and serious purposes to Cambridge Divinity School, to prepare for the Unitarian ministry.

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He finds the institution swamped with scepticism and utter infidelity; and all his classmates (excepting one, who ultimately turns Episcopalian) are men without faith, earnestness, or common honesty, and some of them without decent morality. Nevertheless, his hopes of a Church of the Future, and the wily managing of politic old foxes of the Unitarian clergy, keep him for the present, and he goes to Norowam, filled with nameless longings for valid ordination, and yet resolved to take charge of the Universalist Church in that village. Here he becomes a fellow boarder at the hotel with the young Episcopalian minister, Rev. Alfred Winthrop, and the Rev. Augustine Ralston, pastor of the Congregational Church. The former was

"Evidently young, quite young. His hair, quite long and with something of a wave, was very fine and silken and brushed back from his brow. It fell round the smooth oval of a face whose perfect features, in their almost womanish perfection, had a marked likeness to that beautiful ideal which the Italian painters have chosen for St. John the Divine." He sung church-music "with a voice evidently of high culture and great natural sweetness."

The representative Congregationalist, however unable to stand in comparison with this Adonis, is nevertheless remarkable among Mr. Maurice's non-Episcopalian acquaintances for possessing some redeeming qualities. He was "a keen, wary, yet genial man, very fond of art, with an uncultivated indiscriminate fondness,"—"well, but diffusely read, extraordinarily independent in his views, and loving to air them in controversy;"—yet "not quarrelsome, far from it;—gentlemanly, kindly, and thoroughly even-tempered." *Per contra*, he had those

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dark, insidious traits, that insincerity of opinion, and that feline craftiness with a selfish view to personal or sectarian aggrandizement, which seem to Mr. Mitchell's generous observation to be the characteristic traits of the ministers of Christ in Congregational churches. He had "grown up in a school which regards all opinions rather as the foils with which you show your skill in fence, than as the sword with which one fights for life and death." "He was an honest and Christian man in his way, but had been educated into a morality in religious politics not unworthy of Liguori. It is the result of that utter absorption of religion into a pure technicality and formalism, which is the proper sequence of an attempt at a bodiless spirituality. This is the cardinal mischief of New England Puritanism."

Under the winning influence of the saintly example of Winthrop, who is a model of religious devotedness to his work, and under the influence of a large number of fascinating and delightful girls, who are represented as holding the key to good society fn Norowam, and as using it with a single view to the interests of the Episcopal denomination, and who have a singular habit of "reading his very soul" by moonlight, and saying to him in portentous tones, "*Something tells me,* Mr. Maurice, that you will yet kneel at that altar"—it is no wonder that the young man at last succumbs to the force of circumstances. Gardiner comes in opportunely at the last of these oracular utterances, clinches his resolutions with a few common-place arguments, a hundred times refuted, and the upshot of the story is that Maurice is off for Broadwater in a twinkling, to get his theology rectified and his ordination "validated." Once more he has a turn

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of hesitation, but at the opportune moment another lovely woman appears upon the scene, exclaiming, "O, Mr. Maurice, do! I am sure you ought. I *know* you will never feel contented till you do;"—this last argument settles him, and "he takes the morning train for Broadwater." The pretty Quakeress miraculously reappears to him, at the chancel of a love of a stone church in Philadelphia, all stone, outside and in, and they are married and live in a love of a parsonage built for Maurice by one of those very Norowam girls who used to assure him that "something told them" he would preach in a gown and bands before he died. And as for the only decent man among his Cambridge theological classmates, he comes out at the same result by way of the Roman Catholic church, and goes slap into a first-class city parish, with a first-rate chance for "the solemn cares—the dread responsibilities of a Missionary Bishopric." With which climax the book concludes.

We need not speak particularly of the subordinate characters; they may be briefly described as follows:—

Sundry Episcopalian ministers, all of the very finest personal appearance, sweet voices, superior intellectual and spiritual qualities, and costumes regardless of expense.

Several Episcopalian laymen, also of noble appearance and superior virtue.

Chorus of Episcopalian young ladies, all of remarkable personal beauty, the very highest fashion, and the sweetest piety, devoted to good works, Easter lilies, and altar-cloths, and young non-Episcopalian ministers in an interesting state of mind.

Certain ministers of other denominations, all of them

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self-seekers, without religious sincerity or earnestness, or any personal beauty, or voices, or fine clothes, worth mentioning.

A number of young ladies, not Episcopalians, commonly not of good social position nor good looks, and with serious blemishes of character.

"Citizens generally," male and female, outside of the Episcopal church, mostly illiterate, and of the grade of "trades-people."

Jesuits (in disguise).

To come to the main points of instruction in Mr. Mitchell's express or implied confessions, we note:

I. How ignorant a Boston-bred and Harvard-graduated man may be probably supposed to be, of everything outside of the Unitarian sect in Massachusetts.

Mr. Mitchell, who is an accepted contributor to the *Atlantic*, and by no means to be reckoned an uncultivated man, represents his double, an accomplished young gentleman, with a taste for biblical study, at the mature age of twenty-three, finishing his education by foreign travel. In the midst of Italy he does not know a word of Italian—a point which is confirmed by the fact that the book rarely ventures a quotation in a foreign tongue without coming to grief with it. He is absolutely ignorant of English politics and theology, and when "the talk is of Newman, and Gladstone, and Mr. Ward, and the Bishop of Exeter, and the Gorham case," it is "pure Sanscrit to the young New Englander." He has never seen the administration of the Lord's Supper; submits without a murmur to be referred to the "original Latin" of the New Testament; discovers, after protracted studv, that

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the New Testament consists of books of different dates, and after a long period of exegetical research at Cambridge, comes, much to his surprise, upon the recondite fact that our Lord's ascension did not occur immediately upon his resurrection, but forty days afterwards. He hears the Magnificat chanted, and on inquiring the source of so fine a lyric, he is quite amazed and incredulous at being told that it is in the gospel according to Luke. He is driven to his wits' end in conversation, in consequence of not knowing the meaning of the word "catholic." No wonder, then, that knowing so little about what concerns his own religion, he should suffer even to the end from the most amazing ignorance about other people's. Having attended high mass at St. Peter's on Christmas day, he thinks "the elevation of the Host was very fine, but what meaning is there in it all? What is the Host? I'm sure I don't know." He doesn't know what is the ecclesiastical meaning of "confirmation." He is told, as a piece of rare and exquisite erudition, that the Athanasian creed is not the authentic work of Athanasius. Of course he and the Rev. Mr. Mitchell both believe the raw-head-and-bloody-bones representation of Calvinism, and suppose that Christian congregations are taught by Evangelical preachers, that Christ did not die for infants or the non-elect, and that one "will be converted, if he is to be, when his time comes, and won't be before that for all his trying; and that until that, he can't make things worse or better."

Is it possible—Mr. Mitchell assures us that it is, and he ought to know—that Unitarian young gentlemen, of the first families in Massachusetts, are tumbled out from the nest of their *Dura Mater* at Cambridge, in such a

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painfully callow and unfledged condition? Are they really undefended, except as they carry about upon their heads the broken egg-shell of early prejudice against orthodoxy as something vulgar, from the attacks of the first "Jesuit in disguise," who quotes at them the New Testament from "the original Latin," or the first Episcopalian who "startles" them with his notions of English church history? And are they wont to be dumb-foundered, in foreign society, at the commonest words and allusions in English literature and politics? Can it be that local antipathy to the unabridged and illustrated edition of Webster's Dictionary has led to such results? These are questions for Mr. Mitchell to settle with his old instructors and college friends; and we acknowledge that, between the two parties, there is a very considerable presumption in favor of the college. But if we are driven to accept his representations as against himself, it does much to clear up the story of Bryan Maurice's conversion to high churchism, and sheds light upon the second point of his confessions, to wit:

II. Into what narrowness of feeling it is possible for a somewhat intelligent and Christian gentleman to be trained, in the High-Church faction of the Episcopal denomination.

The real argument of "Bryan Maurice," and we do not doubt the sincerity with which it is offered, is, that holiness of life, intelligent faith, pastoral fidelity and self-denial, devout and imposing worship, gentlemanly culture and female loveliness, are found in the Episcopal Church, and therefore stand in some relation of necessary sequence with Apostolical succession. The critical point of Maurice's conversion is, when, being called to the remorseful bedside

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of a bad man, he finds that his Unitarianism gives him nothing to say which can relieve the conscience and save the sinner. His Episcopalian friend is called in, and delivers to the wretched man the gospel—with a stiff churchiness of manner, but the same good news, nevertheless, of an almighty Saviour, which comforts the souls of true believers in every land and age,—and on the Saviour thus set forth the sick man trusts, to the saving of his soul. Maurice is touched and impressed, as well he may be; and at once, with an induction worthy of Mrs. Nickleby's best moods, he infers that it "must be something in the leather,"—that it was the "authority" of a "valid ordination" with which the thing was done, which made the main difference between himself and his neighbor. And at this day, preaching the gospel with great sincerity and fidelity, and with good success, we have no doubt that he really believes in his heart that he owes that success to the "authority" of his "valid ordination," and that he is honoring the divinely appointed means of the world's salvation, when he trains himself, and tries to train others, into the belief that that vast body of prayerful and self-denying ministers of Jesus Christ, which lies outside of his pin-fold, are mere talkers of unfruitful talk, mere "technicalists and formalists," and that the true followers of the Saviour are pretty much all Protestant Episcopalians.

It requires an effort to adjust the vision of ordinary readers to a focus at which they can fairly see the microscopic narrowness of mind and feeling implied in the Mitchell-Maurice position. Stating it, we fear lest we shall seem to be caricaturing it, or lest it shall be inferred

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to be not the actual position of the author's mind, but the position of attack upon others into which he rushes, for a moment, in the heat of controversy. But simply and soberly, it is this: that the usage of worship and the church organization of a portion of the population of the southern part of one of the islands off the coast of Western Europe, has a divine and exclusive claim to be accepted and followed by the entire population of America! The Act of Parliament, commonly known as the "Book of Common Prayer," is a divine "pattern given in the mount," and so far as any act of worship deviates from this, it loses in beauty, and majesty, and spirituality. The rites of the Roman Church he finds to be "tedious" and "ludicrous;" and in the simplicity of outward form with which the overwhelming majority of his fellow-Christians in America earnestly worship God, he can see nothing but absurdities on which he may practice his cleverish little sarcasms. Even the ritual variations and "beautiful garments" with which some of his brethren pardonably seek to diversify the endless repetition of their "Dearly-beloved-brethren," are repudiated by him, and nothing is truly impressive but a pied gown, black and white, and the Dearly-beloved-brethren *straight*, three times a day. All immigrants to this country, whatever their national and ecclesiastical antecedents, become *de jure* members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and are bound by its laws and ritual. The Moravian must abandon the exquisite litanies of his fathers, and the German must forsake the hymns of Luther and of Gerhardt, that they may learn the provincial ways of another European tribe, and recite the Dearly-beloved-

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brethren, and sing the exhilarating psalms of Nahum Tate, or must suffer the pains and penalties of schism.[1]

This hair's-breadth narrowness on ritual questions is commensurate with the writer's breadth of view on questions of theology and practical religion. He sincerely believes that true theology on the Trinity, on the origin of evil, and on the relation of predestination to responsibility is found alone in what he, in common with the infinitesimal sect of a sect, believes to be the doctrine of the Anglican church. So, also he thinks that Christian self-sacrifice and beneficence are a peculium of episcopally-ordained ministers. Witness the following:

"There had been more or less of epidemic disease hanging about Norowam. A drought in summer had been followed by warm, sultry days, and then by a sudden chill with sea fogs and the raw easterly airs. Maurice noticed that Winthrop's handsome face looked very grave as he came to his meals, that he ate them hurriedly and was soon off.

"Maurice hesitated to ask the cause, but another of the hotel boarders called out across the table at dinner, 'Many sick in the parish?' 'Several very sick,' was the answer. 'Keeps you pretty busy, eh?' The young clergyman nodded assent. 'What is the matter?' asked Maurice, in a lower tone. 'Oh, this horrible dysentery. It is the most treacherous thing we have, worse than typhoid, I think—except scarlet fever among the children, there is nothing I dread so much."

"'Well, but *do you have to go where it is?*' said Maurice.

"'Go! why to be sure. I was not speaking of myself, when I said I dreaded it,—in fact, I haven't thought of that—it is in the parish that I dread it."

1. Since this article was written, Mr. Mitchell's sect has relaxed a little the austere rigor of its demands, and the singing of Tate and Brady is no longer exacted as a condition of admittance to the covenants of promise.

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"'Why,' said the other, who had put the first question, 'won't dysentery kill you parsons as quick as it will the rest of us?'

"The young man smiled slightly, and then said, 'The killing is not in the account. We have something else to think of. I have not found ever in my short experience that men live longest who are most afraid of dying. When I first began to go about among the sick, one of the Doctors told me not to suppose that anything could kill me—and then half the danger was over. So I have just acted on that principle ever since—that is, not to worry about myself at all, which comes to the same end.'

"*Maurice looked at him with admiration.*" pp. 207, 208.

We also admire; but are at a loss at which to wonder most, whether at the acquaintance with Christian ministers which persuades our author that it is a rare and distinguishing virtue among them not to shirk duty in a dysentery season; or at the narrowness of view which convinces him that this most moderate allowance of official virtue is an Episcopalian quality, which a Presbyterian can scarcely attain unto, and which a Unitarian (to use his own words) "feels to be far beyond his own mark." For our part, we can conceive of a minister who would run away from his duty in an epidemic as something to be despised and kicked out of the profession; but it would hardly occur to us, from the ministers we have happened to know, to signalize one's attendance on dysentery patients as anything exceptionally heroic, or even "beyond the mark" of an average Unitarian.

One cannot refrain from remarking how far more contracted and illiberal are the habits of thinking of a High-Churchman in Mr. Mitchell's position, than those of an intelligent Roman Catholic. Those who have read the Article in the *Catholic World*, which was reviewed in the

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last Number of the *New Englander*, will have marked how much better it is, in point of courtesy, of candid effort to appreciate an antagonist's position, of Christian love and respect towards fellow-disciples of Christ from whom he is sundered, than it would have been possible for the author to write when he was still lingering, in mid-progress, among the Anglicans. The Romanist makes no claim to Catholicity which he does not back up with earnest effort, on a scale commensurate with his claims, to subdue the entire world, Christian and Pagan, to the papal obedience, He does not attempt to enforce the provincial traditions of a petty region like southeastern Britain, upon the adoption of all mankind; but accepts the only principle on which his idea of an external catholicity could possibly be realized—the principle of "*E pluribus unum.*" Holding fast by certain great fixtures in discipline and worship—the authority of popes and councils, and the forms of celebrating the mass, other things are subject to necessary change to adapt them to varying times and peoples; and the traditions of diocesan sovereignty, which have long been extinguished in the Episcopal Church by the exorbitant authority of Parliament or triennial synod, still linger in the Papal Church, giving vitality in all its parts, and reminding one of the lost independency of churches in the primitive age. A Roman Catholic missionary in Connecticut may, *permissu superioris*, draw upon all the resources of Protestant hymnology, old and new, and bid his proselytes worship God in the wonted strains of Watts, and Wesley, and Toplady, and Bonar, and Ray Palmer; he may put on his black coat, and talk to them from his improvised pulpit with as close and familiar appeal as Finney or Beecher.

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But his next-of-kin has one unvarying song for Morning Prayer, for Evening Prayer, for Sundays, for week-days, for fasts, for feasts, the same excerpt from John Calvin, (of whom he hates the very name), the "Dearly beloved brethren, the Scripture moveth us," with its long sequel; and cannot travel into the unevangelized regions of Puritanism without a band-box, a basket of prayer-books, and a clerk to start the responses. He is doomed by the inexorable necessity of his position to stand upon trifles, and to look on his own things and not on the things of others. We are bound to make due allowance for this, in observing the little arrogances and misconceptions and misrepresentations of gentlemen in that position, and not to conclude too hastily that they proceed from any inward deficiency of good manners or good feeling.

It is worth while to make a brief excursus here on the practical question, How shall we deal with well-intending gentlemen who are betrayed into incivilities to their neighbors by the necessity of their sacerdotal position? The best answer may perhaps be found in the experience of the Rev. Augustine Ralston, as we have learned it from himself.

The Rev. Walter Mitchell gives his conception of what would have been a first encounter between the Rev. Mr. Ralston and the Episcopalian minister of Norowam, as follows:

"Provoking as he [Ralston] could be, when you came to know him it was impossible to quarrel with him. He *was* provoking, however. He took advantage of a silence at the dinner-table to address Winthrop so pointedly as to draw the attention of all upon him. 'Brother Winthrop, when shall we have the pleasure of an exchange?'

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"'Thank you, Mr. Ralston, I shall be engaged till after Christmas, and then I shall probably leave.'

"Ralston bit his lip and resumed. * * * * 'Come, now, that is mere fencing with the question. Would you exchange with me if you had the power?'

"'No, I would not,' said Winthrop, tired of this badgering, 'or with any other other who tried to tease me into it.'

"'Oh! that is not the reason. I am not pressing you to do the thing, only to say why you are unwilling. Now, be frank; say it is because you do not hold my orders to be valid.'

"'Very well, Mr. Ralston, you knew, before you asked me, that no Episcopal clergyman in this Diocese would exchange with you, or consider you to be a lawful minister. * * * * 'I do not consider you, in any sense, a validly ordained minister, and, unless you are in a different position from most Congregationalists, you are a teacher of heresy.'" pp. 187, 188.

Of course, in the discussion that follows, the unhappy Congregationalist is showed to have pulled down overwhelming arguments and repartees upon his head. Being curious to know what sort of a picture might be made of the affair, if the lion should turn painter, we asked Mr. Ralston, the other day, what sort of talks he used to have with his Episcopalian neighbor at Norowam, and received an answer which, being translated into the romantic style of Mr. Mitchell's novel, would run somewhat as follows:

The youthful but heroic Ralston came back from the exploration of his new field, wearied, yet not discouraged. But so great a draft upon his exquisitely tender sympathies had quite exhausted him, and as he sank into his study chair, his classic head—with its Hyperion curls still surmounted by a delicate Panama hat, like the gold-foil glory which constitutes the coiffure of a pre-Raphaelite saint—dropped upon his marble hand in an attitude of graceful but unaffected languor.

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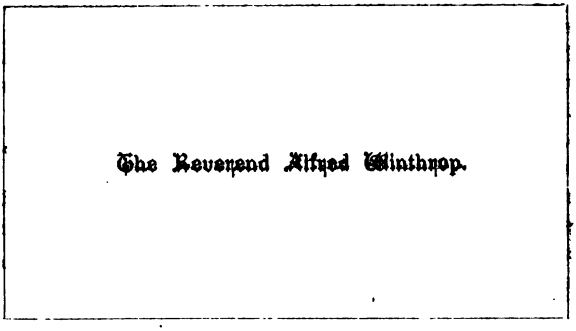
Augustine had not rested long, when a tap was heard at his door and a card was laid on his table, inscribed in minute black-letter characters, thus :—



The Rector of the Episcopal Church (which was one of several sectarian organizations that had grown up about the old parish church of the town) soon followed his card, on a visit of courtesy to the new comer. He was evidently a gentleman. This was obvious not only from his clothes, and from the way in which his hair was cut, but from that partial paralysis of the facial muscles which is cultivated by the first families of Boston under the title of "the Beacon street air." And yet, with all this, there was a certain professional style pricking out at all points. As to his costume, he had the appearance of having put himself into the hands of a "clerical tailor" of extreme views; and in accordance with the theory of the great Teufelsdröckh, the consciousness of peculiar clothes, both on week days and on Sundays, had done more than the doctrine of Apostolic succession to ingrain into his mind the pleasing conviction that he stood above the general mass of men and ministers in a position of authority. It was an amusing study to Mr. Ralston to observe the struggle which was always going on in his visitor's mind, between the natural modesty and courtesy of a well-bred gentleman, and the professional habit of feeling and

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acting with an air of superiority and condescension. Ralston was quite too good-natured to disturb for a moment the harmless little pompousness of this assumption on the part of his new friend; but when he observed how embarrassed the latter was in the continual collision between his respectfulness and almost timid deference, and his professional loftiness, it seemed a mere act of humanity to relieve him.

Accordingly, when the Reverend Mr. Winthrop, after a long and lively conversation, buttoned the perpendicular row of buttons to his chin and stood gazing for a moment upon his clerical hat, as if momentarily expecting it to bifurcate into a mitre, Ralston responded cordially to his "Good evening," and added an expression of pleasure at the new acquaintance,—"although," said he, "I feel bound to say, at the outset, that these social relations must not be understood as implying any mutual relations whatever of an official character."

"O, certainly," quickly replied the other, "we can't, of course, you know——a——"

"*Of course* we cannot, Mr. Winthrop, said Ralston, kindly, but sternly; "it is out of the question for me to recognize the validity of your ordination."

"Why, but Mr. Ralston, you do not understand, perhaps, that I am the rector of St. Bardolph's church, and have had the imposition of hands from Bishop Gardiner."

"'My dear sir, I do not question for a moment the impositions you have undergone. But a very little attention to the Greek Testament will show you that the essence of ordination is not in the χειροθεσία, or laying on of hands, but in the χειροτονία, or holding up of hands of the assembly of believers in the election of the elder or bishop, which ever he may be called. I do not doubt, at all, that you have been attentive enough to the forms and accidents of ordination; what you lack is the very substance of the thing. These impositions that you speak of are all well enough as between yourself and Bishop Gardiner, and the separatists who consort with him; but is plainly impossible that they should fulfill the requirements of the Scriptures, or confer upon you any standing in the Church Catholic."

"However," continued Ralston, as he saw a look of dejection

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creep over Winthrop's feminine features, and a rosy flush suffusing his fine complexion, up to the very roots of his silken and wavy hair, "you must not feel entirely cast down. We are not disposed to insist unreasonably upon points like this, when we see a man really trying to be useful, as I hear from all quarters that you are." —here Winthrop bowed with an evident expression of relief—"but you will acknowledge, yourself, that we could not entirely overlook defects and irregularities such as I have pointed out to you."

Notwithstanding the benignant look that beamed, as he spoke, from Ralston's face, Winthrop shrunk timidly toward the threshold, and all that was heard in reply before he

——"plunged all noiseless into the dark night,"

was, "Well, I'm sure——a—a—I never thought——a—a—but I don't see——a—a—Good night."

As Ralston turned to his self-denying labors, a faint smile might have been seen to steal over his noble but melancholy features.

Nothing could have been happier than the effect of this timely explanation; for Winthrop, who had never before been able to keep up any sort of terms of amity with his clerical neighbors, found himself thenceforth relieved, in Ralston's society, from his most besetting embarrassments, and cultivated a friendship for him which was cordially reciprocated. *(From "Augustine Ralston; or The Hero of the Faith," an unwritten novel.)*

III. It will do us all good to learn from these Confessions of Mr. Mitchell, how it is possible for a man to be led into a narrow schismatic position, in relation to the Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints, by truly generous considerations. It may seem paradoxical, and yet we believe that Mr. Mitchell might justly claim, if he knew the real history of his own mind, that he was drawn towards that noisy little secession from the general communion of believers which now holds his allegiance, by a true love for the whole body of Christ's disciples, and a hatred of divisions. There is really touching

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evidence of the working of this influence in the warm-hearted, though unpractical eloquence with which Bishop Cleveland Coxe, on a "Christian Union" platform, urges upon brethren of other bodies of clergy the acceptance of a free grant of apostolic succession, as the one hope of a reunited Christendom, and the one deliverance from that frightful bugbear, the Pope. It is the mark of a true Christian heart, to be disgusted with the "Evangelical" cant which vindicates the scandal and nuisance of our modern schisms as being ordered by an all-wise Providence, and as contributing to the total effectiveness of Christianity. We cannot, therefore, but respect the motives which hurry some impatient souls to seek a solution of this trouble in High-Churchism—that is, in declaring that their sect is the Church, and in intense, conscientious making-believe that there are no Christians (except "after a sort") outside, The noblest example of this method of restoring church-unity is that of the little handful of Samaritans who to this day live in the city of Sychar and kill their yearly passover on Gerizim. That little remnant, of forty families, hold that "in this mountain men ought to worship," and that all outside of their fellowship are "strangers to the covenants of promise," and when taunted with their feeble numbers, declare with confidence that somewhere beyond the Sabbatical river, which flows impassably for six days in the week, and runs dry only on the seventh, are hosts and nations of good Samaritans, who are hindered by nothing but a rigid Sabbatarianism from marching forth to manifest their fellowship with their feeble brethren. In like manner our little knot of High-Churchmen having solved the difficulty of the division of the church by

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declaring their fragment to be the church, are accustomed to keep up each others' spirits by promising one another that some time or other, when the Sabbatical river of Greek and Armenian exclusiveness shall be dried up on a week-day, we shall see what we shall see. "*Expectant dum defluit amnis.*"

We have a very considerable measure of respect for the exclusiveness of the High-Churchman. It is no very long time since we have ourselves been arguing that to make a truce and open diplomatic relations with seceders was no way to national unity; and we have no disposition to flinch from the parity of reasoning which concludes that the unity of the Church of Christ is not be gained by the organizing of its factions into several confederated and mutually militant parties, picketed against each other from village to village through the land, but "recognizing" each other, and having certain diplomatic relations, as of pulpit exchange, and so forth. This is the ideal church unity to which the Tract Society bears its cautious witness, and after which the heterogeneous leaders of Mr. Kimball's "Christian Union Society" led one another such a pretty chase some two years ago, and came out nowhere. We believe that a generation is growing up which will see the folly of all such Eirenica as these, and which will candidly acknowledge, to the honor of the little squad of High-Church Episcopalians, that, in their ridiculous way, they did nevertheless bear unconscious witness, in a perverse age, to the principle and duty of Christian Union, and by the obstinacy of their schismatic practices did testify against schism tolerated and approved. And we tender them a certain amount of qualified sympathy, in view of the aggravating

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behavior of the recusant Thrall, Cotton Smith, and Tyng, Jr., whose notorious latitude of exchange with Presbyterian and Congregational neighbors no episcopal or canonical authority has thus far been able to restrain.

It is superfluous to point out how absurd a contrivance for healing the wounds of Christendom is the Mitchell prescription of a little more apostolic succession. Mr. Bryan Maurice sneers at the American chapel at Rome as a "funny compound. One week it was Presbyterian, the next New School Taylorite, the third Dutch Reformed;"—the hymn that is sung "says that 'The voice of Free Grace cries Escape to the mountain;' and then the Doctor prayed that the elect might be speedily brought to a sense of the truth; and then Mr. Adams told us that we had only to *will* to be converted, by calculating the advantages of the step, and we should be converted." His biographer will not pretend that the theological variations here caricatured are wider in range than those which prevail among the ministers of Episcopal Churches, all the way around from Pusey to Samuel Clark the Arian, by way of Thomas Scott and Frederick Robertson. The absurdity which his sarcasm cuts upon so keenly is that of seeing Christians of these various opinions coming together in a foreign land for common worship, with no more of a basis of union than their mutual love, and common trust for salvation upon the same almighty Saviour. If only the flux of valid orders had been thrown in, and the incantation of the Dearly-beloved-brethren pronounced, how sweetly they might have flowed together! Not all the family feuds and bitternesses and back-bitings that have vexed "The Protestant-Episcopal-Church-in-the-United-States-of-America," could

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make it less than heavenly in its unity, if only this healing branch of priestly pedigree could be introduced. Only accept this boon, which comes begging to be taken, —so we have been assured many a time, not only from Episcopalian, but from Episcopal lips—and you come right in at once, New School or Old, Calvinist or Arminian, and no questions asked, and the Church is one again. Their principle of Christian union is derived, evidently enough, from misapprehension of a patristic maxim, which they inversely read "*in necessariis, libertas; in non-necessariis, unitas;*" and where the *caritas* comes in, it is not always easy to discover.

We cheerfully concede to this High-Church party the advantage incident to conscientious narrowness of position, in giving energy to proselyting operations. It was the remark of the great Henri IV., that so long as the Huguenot conceded the salvability of the Catholic, while the Catholic refused to concede the salvability of the Huguenot, nothing could be expected of the controversy but that the Huguenot should go to the wall. We must make up our minds to yield this advantage to our High-Church Episcopalian friends, just as they, in turn, will have to give it up when their approaching contest with the Romanist comes on. But so long as they continue to hold it, it gives a certain air of dignity and religious duty to the electioneering and wheedling, as well as to the argument and authority, by which sea and land are compassed to get a man out of one Christian sect and into another. We can have a genuine respect for the home propagandism of our Episcopal brother, who rejoices over every new proselyte brought over from a godly Methodist or Presbyterian family as over a brand snatched from the

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burning, when if our Congregational or Presbyterian brother should be caught mousing about in the same way, we should be very much ashamed of him. This conviction of an exclusive divine privilege conferred upon the ecclesiastical corporation, is a very good and energizing thing for the sect, but a very, very bad and demoralizing thing for the members of it. And yet it is the only thing which can give respectability or substantial vigor to that pushing and elbowing effort for self-advancement which characterizes the dissenting sects in England, and the Episcopal denomination in this country. "There is something peculiar about your American Episcopalians"—this was a remark which we once heard from an accomplished lady, a devout member of the English Established Church—"they seem so very much like our English dissenters."

In conclusion, we gladly take the opportunity to testify that it would be altogether unjust to judge Mr. Mitchell by his book. From the admiring descriptions of his favorite heroes, it is much to be feared that his readers will conceive of him as a sentimental goose, taking vast pride in his "white and very handsome hands," his "silken and wavy hair," and his "feminine beauty" of face; choosing his religion mainly for architectural considerations, and under the guidance of delightful girls, whose "Oh, do, Mr. Mitchell; something tells me that you will!" it is impossible to resist. On the contrary, he is a very diligent and faithful Christian pastor, eminently useful and practical, a thoughful student of the Scriptures, and as liberal in his views and dealings as is compatible with his unfortunate position. In literary merit, this book is far inferior to other efforts of his pen,

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in prose and verse: so that we are disposed to accept the apology, if it should be offered, that the author has purposely written it *down* both in style and argument, to the taste and capacity of the class of young people whom he considers most hopeful subjects of his zeal. We strongly recommend it to Episcopalian ministers, for lending to susceptible young people in their neighbors' congregations, of inferior intelligence, but ardent longings after the first society.

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V.

IS SCHISM A NECESSITY?*

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE RIGHT REVEREND A. C. COXE, D.D., BISHOP IN WESTERN NEW YORK.

My Dear Sir:

I cannot plead, in apology for addressing you thus publicly, that I am moved to it by the reading of your recent volume entitled *Apollos, or the Way of God.* It is my misfortune, and I feel it seriously, that I have not yet had the opportunity of reading the book, for I doubt not that it throws light on the subject on which I would speak to you, and answers in advance many of the questions which I wish to put. But as a matter of fact, I had already begun to put my thoughts and questions into the form of a letter to you, when I saw the announcement of your book. And my reason for this use of your name was that I knew you, through both public and private acquaintance, as the man who more than any other in the Episcopal Church in America cherishes an

* From the *New Englander* Quarterly, for April, 1874.

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intelligent conviction of "High Church" principles, in conjunction with a warm love for all Christian believers, and a "continual sorrow of heart" over the schisms by which they are divided from each other and miserably weakened in their work "for the whole estate of Christ's Church militant."

What is the subject upon my mind you have already conjectured. According to the direction from which it is viewed, it might be stated either as the restoration of the Episcopal Church to the communion of the Church Catholic; or, (in an aspect more obvious from your own point of view) as the facilitating of the communion of Christians generally with the Protestant Episcopal Church. But instead of attempting to define or discuss the subject in a general way, I beg your attention to it in the most practical form, as illustrated in a very needless and useless schism lately effected in the little community of American Christians residing at Geneva. There is nothing unprecedented or even unusual in the facts of this case. I mention them simply in order to bring the subject fairly into view.

There has long existed among the American Christians at Geneva the desire for a church where they could unite in common worship. Of late, this desire has taken the form of a practical resolution. The movers in the enterprise were of various denominations; but so cordial was the good-will that the majority deferred to the preferences of the Episcopalians among them, and measures were taken to procure an Episcopalian minister and organize the congregation according to the forms of that denomination. These measures having failed, they proceeded at a later period, with the same fraternal spirit, to organize a

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church independently of any question of sect. The preferences of the Episcopalian brethren were still consulted in the order of public worship adopted. A convenient place of worship was engaged; the services of a diligent, earnest, and able pastor were secured and his support pledged; regular services were begun; and plans were at once laid for building an American church-edifice.

These arrangements had been completed only a few weeks, when a zealous Episcopal minister, who was residing at the time in Italy as a missionary for the promotion of Christian union, hastened to Geneva, got out his posters announcing a separate series of services, organized a separate congregation, started his opposition building-subscription, and seems now in a fair way, unless some good influence should interfere, to accomplish a permanent schism in the little population of American Christians in Geneva.

The most mischievous results of this schism were not obvious when it was first effected. It was during the brief season of summer travel, when, for a few weeks, Geneva is full of Americans passing to and fro, or sojourning for a short time. Accordingly, both services were well attended and well supported for the time. To be sure, as a matter of taste, it was not pleasant to see the less honorable features of American church-life so distinctly protruded before the observation of people abroad; — the "running" of rival churches on the principle that "competition is the life of business;" — the rival show-bills displayed in public places side by side, the new one quite eclipsing the old in dimensions, with an air of "no-connection-with-the-shop-over-the-way;" — the business-like cards in circulation at hotels and boarding

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houses;—the gentle bragging and "touting" on the part of the friends of the respective enterprises, mingled with faint praises, almost fading into civil disparagements, of the rival undertaking—all this is sufficiently astonishing to the European mind, which is just now very earnestly intent in studying the American method of conducting religious institutions, and it is not gratifying to the pride or the conscience of all Americans.

But now that the summer torrent of travel has run by, the mischiefs of this schism become more apparent. The congregations are dwindled to a few meagre dozens a-piece, each comforting itself in its scantiness with the probability that the other is still smaller. Contributions and subscriptions decline—the zeal of some to give for strife's sake being balanced by the disgust of others at the wanton waste, and worse than waste, of money requiring for sustaining the schism. Of course, the temptation (however successfully it may have been, thus far, resisted) to the ill feelings commonly attendant upon schism, is increased. And if this is so now, what will it be when the tug of building begins?—when the monuments which are to perpetuate this scandal, and hold it continually in public view, begin to rise painfully from their foundations?—when each party begins to feel in its pocket the inconvenience of the existence of the other party?—when over every stranger of uncertain allegiance and large means there arises a contention as over the body of Moses, and the fancy-fairs and pious lotteries begin to flourish, to the glory of God and the edification of the Church?

It will be alleged that this state of things is compelled, in the circumstances, as the inexorable result of the

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conscientious principles of the dominant party in the Episcopal Church. If this is so, there is nothing more to be said in the hope of accommodation. We cannot ask for a sacrifice of principle. We must respect, how much soever we may lament it, a schism for conscience' sake, in which there is no schismatic spirit, and must make up our minds to the suspension of all religious intercourse and common worship between Protestant Episcopalians and the rest of the Church Catholic, imputing it to their principles and not to themselves, and viewing it as the reduction of those principles *ad absurdum*.

But is such non-intercourse necessarily a matter of principle? Is there no possible *modus vivendi* according to which the American Episcopalians in one of these transatlantic colonies may without sin join in common worship with their fellow-Christians of the same country and language? It seems to me that the inquiry has never been thoroughly and candidly made, unless, peradventure, it has been made in your recent volume entitled "Apollos." The attempts at solving it seem to me to have been made with no adequate understanding of the differences involved, or else with no respect for them. Permit me to say for myself, in apology for this new Eirenikon, that I have no disrespect even for the exclusivism of High Church Episcopalians. I regard it as the only effective practical protest extant against the prevailing "evangelical" heresy that the normal state of the Church universal is schism; that sects are a good thing, so that the more sects you can have (within reasonable limits) the better; and that the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, consists properly of a series of strenuously competing denominations, maintaining

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diplomatic relations and exchange of pulpits; "sinking their differences" in a Tract Society that agrees to be mum on all controverted points; and meeting occasionally in an "Alliance." So long as this continues to be the highest prevalent conception of Christian fellowship, we need the protest of High Churchism, in its most uncompromising form, in favor of the organic unity of the Christian Church. I would not have that protest made one whit less effective. I do not believe that a protest against schism *is* less effective for not being made in a schismatic spirit. I do not believe that the usefulness or the dignity of the Episcopal Church (as represented in its dominant party) would be in the least impaired by its asserting its principles courteously and affectionately towards other Christians, with some expression of regret when difference of principle seems to involve the necessity of separation; and by its doing its best to free itself from the reproach of being the most pushing, elbowing, scrambling, and unscrupulous of all the sects. I believe that its best mission, that of asserting the necessity of appointed *forms* of permanent Christian fellowship, can be fulfilled in such wise as not to offend the *spirit* of Christian fellowship. I have often found much of the poetry and theory of Christian communion among Episcopalians, and always a great deal more of the practical spirit of it among non-Episcopalians. The former have so worthy a desire for fellowship with the Church of the Fourth Century that they are ready, for the sake of it, to live in practical isolation from the actual Church of the Nineteenth Century. They are so earnestly (though hitherto vainly) desirous to open some special relations of communion with Old Catholics, or Greeks, or

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Armenians, three or four thousand miles away, that they tear themselves asunder with alacrity from their own fellow-countrymen and fellow-Protestants.

The things which hinder Episcopalians from common worship with their fellow-Christians generally, may be summed up under three heads: 1. Conditions of Communion. 2. Ritual. 3. Authority of the Ministry.

1. In respect to the conditions of communion, the only thing of the nature of a principle that need be waived by Episcopalians is waived already, in their actual practice. I refer to that expressed in the rubric at the end of the Confirmation-service, to the effect that "there shall none be admitted to the Holy Communion until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed." The effect of this rubric, if followed, would be to make the Episcopal Church a close-communion corporation, like the American Baptists. By a happy inconsistency, which shows how easy it is to find a way through a rule, if there is only a will, this rubric is commonly, not to say generally, set aside whenever it is found to work inconveniently. On the other hand, the pernicious use of formularies of dogma as a ritual for receiving candidates for the Lord's Supper, which has spread from the Congregationalists into so many of the Evangelical communions of America, is practically abandoned by them whenever occasion requires.

2. The subject of *ritual* might seem to be one of great difficulty. If Episcopalians can not agree about it among themselves, how can they hope to agree with the rest of the Church? But I believe that practically there is no serious difficulty about it. There was once a difference of *principle* between the parties. That was when it was

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held by all Puritan churches that human compositions in divine worship were forbidden. The contest over this tenet was fought out for American Christendom a hundred years ago, on the question of using Watts' Hymns. It lingers among us to-day only in a dwindling sect of Scotchmen, and in a few feeble minds which are capable of believing that what is tolerable and even edifying in verse, becomes an offense in prose.

On the other hand, is there anything of the nature of *principle* to forbid Episcopalians from joining in worship otherwise than in their own forms? A canon (i, 20) indeed forbids Episcopal ministers ever to preach or to conduct worship except with the use of the Common Prayer without interpolation. But it does not appear that even the letter of this regulation, far less anything worthy to be called a principle, forbids the use of other acts of worship after the "Common Prayer" is ended. The only thing which excludes these, is the excessive length of the three services in one which are prescribed for every Lord's Day; and the ingenuity of Episcopalian ministers has not been employed in vain in discovering ways of keeping the law and shortening the service at the same time. Doubtless there are Episcopalians who without due reflection have adopted the notion that the Prayer-Book, as they have become accustomed to it, together with the pattern of a black and white gown, was showed to Moses in the Mount. But happily, in the case of congregations of Americans abroad, it is not with minds of this class that one has chiefly to do. The travelled or travelling Christian is ordinarily of a more liberal mind than the average domestic parishioner Christians of the non-liturgical denominations have shown

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a cordial disposition to use liturgical forms, not, as I think, from a mere willingness to humor the preferences of others, but in part from a hearty appreciation of the good that is to be found in such means of worship. It is not too much to hope that, in assemblies for common worship with other Christians, Episcopalians, although trained habitually to look too exclusively on their own things, and not on the things of others, might learn to appreciate what it is in other modes of worship which so holds the affection of the vast majority of American Christians, including multitudes of those honored for the highest culture, the deepest learning, the most fervid and apostolic piety. I do not believe that any wider modifications of the Prayer-Book order of worship would be needed to unite the prayers and praises of the great multitude of American Christian travellers or sojourners in Europe, as they find themselves together for a longer or shorter time, than such modifications as are already allowed and practiced in Episcopalian congregations, together with such as you would yourself acknowledge to be desirable for their own sake, or in view of the peculiar circumstances and character of the congregations, to be provided for. What these might be I will indicate by-and-by.

3. We come now to the only real difficulty in the case. It is, of course, the claim, made in behalf of episcopally-ordained ministers, of exclusive authority to administer the word and sacraments of the New Testament. This difficulty is real and great. It is not to be evaded by pretending not to see it, or treating it otherwise than as a serious and conscientious conviction in the minds of many by whom it is alleged. Not the slightest progress

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towards the solution of it is made by means of occasional departures from the ordinary Episcopalian usage on this point by persons who do not feel the difficulty in their own minds. But there is certainly no hope of solving it by the process of persuading American Christians generally to agree in putting any kind of slight or affront upon the great body of the most beloved and honored of American ministers of the gospel, and to enter into arrangements by which they are to be forbidden to minister in the congregations of their fellow-countrymen abroad. The successful reconciliation must guard from infraction the principles held by many Episcopalians, without excluding from a share in the services of these mingled congregations of sojourners the approved ministers of other denominations. Such a reconciliation, if only there is a will for it, is not impossible.

There are two suggestions, familiar already to thoughtful minds in the Episcopal Church, which bear upon the problem: (1) That the functions of teaching and leading the worship of Christian assemblies are not necessarily a *peculium* of the priesthood. (2) That it may be possible to confer the authority implied in Episcopal ordination upon ministers of other communions. I may add to these (3) that it might be possible for ministers of other communions, in some circumstances, to accept episcopal ordination, becoming loyally responsible to the bishop for all such acts as they should perform by virtue of it, if they were not thereby to be cut off from the general fellowship of the Christian ministry; and (4) that the importance, especially in these foreign congregations, of having some better guard against the intrusion of unfit persons into sacred functions than is afforded by the

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ordinary constitution of a "Union Church" would be cordially appreciated by wise men of all the uniting confessions, and most of all, I venture to say, by the foreign chaplains themselves.

To bring all this down to practical details, let us take the case of this little community of American Christians in Geneva which it is proposed to split into two fragments, competing, striving, advertising, bragging, quarrelling,—for it is not easy to have two churches, in a community which is barely large enough for one, without these results. Let me sketch the outline of a practicable union among them which would involve no sacrifice of principle.

1. Let there be no "organizing of a church," according to a practice very commonly followed. This useless procedure raises a great many questions which need not to be raised at all—questions both dogmatic and ecclesiastical. All that is needful, practically, is a house of worship and a pastor for this group of travellers and sojourners. The effort to bring the various Christians together for common worship will be all the more fruitful if it is contented with this one object, and seeks for nothing beside, except what comes freely of itself. It is enough, to begin with, that the congregation of believers meet every Lord's day for the worship of God and the hearing of his gospel. If that is all that they can agree upon, let us be thankful for so much as that. It is not a small thing that they should look one another in the face as fellow-Christians, and join their voices in common praise and prayer. If for all the rest they must separate—if the old painful experience of the Church through all the ages of its captivity must be renewed, and that rite which should

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have expressed the general fellowship of the Church—its holy communion—must needs be used again as the occasion and symbol of its dissensions—if when all the rest come with one accord into one place to eat the Lord's Supper, Episcopalians and Baptists must for conscience' sake refrain, and assemble for their separate rites,—then let us be thankful for so much of fellowship as we can attain unto, and greatly honor the conscientious fidelity which, having gladly conceded all it can to Christian love, pauses where it must in obedience to Christian duty.

If a way be found by which the fellow-worshipers can also, with a safe conscience, be fellow-communicants, there need be no provision or local rule for "admitting to the church" by public rite. If penitent believers be invited, any penitent believer may come to the Lord's table. And nothing need hinder any new communicant from seeking preparatory counsel from ministers of his own preference, or confirmation from a bishop when opportunity should offer.

All subordinate organization—for Sunday school, for charitable work, etc.; might be left to grow up of itself, allowing perfect freedom and every facility for division whenever it was found difficult to work together. With such freedom, divisions would rarely occur, and when they did occur would not necessarily involve a general split of the whole community.

2. In the matter of Ritual, something would have to be conceded by Episcopalians, I do not say to the prejudice or preference, but to the *conscience* of Christians generally. As a matter of *conscience*, these would not ordinarily be contented with forms which, compiled in an age before the awakening of the missionary spirit among Protestants,

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make no adequate provision for prayer for the extension of the Church, and the conversion of the world to Christ; and which interdict the congregation from "praying the Lord of the harvest that he would send forth laborers into his harvest." I do not think that they would do right to be satisfied without the privilege of praying for the supreme civil authority of their own country. The mistake made by the American editors of the Common Prayer, of substituting for the prayer for the King a prayer for the President, as if that were equivalent, would have to be rectified in some way. For especially at those times of solemn election at which the power delegated for awhile to temporary functionaries reverts to the hands of the supreme People, and great issues, involving even the interests of the kingdom of Christ, may be hanging upon their imperial decision, the conscience of a Christian citizen craves the privilege of praying, according to the spirit of the apostle's injunction, for the People "as supreme, as well as for presidents and governors who are sent by" the People. I might cite another instance of the need of larger liberty of prayer,—I mean the case of times of financial anxiety and distress, which are to modern society what drought and famine were to the old world. But for all these and other like cases no other provision would perhaps be necessary than such a provision for *time*, as is already available even under the strictest letter of your law.

The principal change necessary in order to give full scope to all needful accommodation, is that already authorized by a multitude of precedents in the Episcopal Church, both American and English,—to have the Litany, or the

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Ante-communion service, or both, at a different hour from the Morning Prayer and Sermon.

Some changes would commend themselves, I am sure, to your own mind, as desirable in view either of the *fluctuating* character, or of the *mixed* character of such a congregation.

For instance, in a fluctuating congregation, the compensating advantages of a systematic lectionary, which gives to a stable company of regular church-goers the substance of the Bible in the course of a year's morning and evening lessons, entirely disappear, leaving only the serious inconveniences of it. Furthermore, in a community in which (as often in these American communities in Europe) more than one formal service on the Lord's day may seem inexpedient, it would be mere servitude to some people's usage to take half the psalms in the Psalter at hap-hazard, and read these to the exclusion of the others. It would be equally "decent and in order" and much more "to the edification" of all parties, in the circumstances, to leave the selection of lessons and of psalms to the discretion of the minister.

And so in view of the *mixed* character of the congregation, could the highest "churchmanship" imagine a reason why the Psalter should be read in the quaint old "Bishops' Bible" version, familiar only to Episcopalians, instead of in the version which is both familiar and dear to all English-speaking Christians?—or why it should be read in alternate verses, instead of in responsive parallelisms? Or is there any divine authority in the new Hymnal of the Episcopal Church which would make it binding on a congregation made up in large part or members of other communions, in case that congregation, on the whole,

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should find it too great a departure from their customary hymnody?

These are some of the amendments which suggest themselves when the question is how to adapt the Anglo-American order of worship to the best edification of such a mixed and fluctuating congregation as that of an American colony in Europe. They are certainly nothing very startling. If assented to by the proper authority in the Episcopal Church, would they sacrifice one atom of principle held by Episcopalians, or let go any thing that intelligent Episcopalians hold dear? They would make barely difference enough to show that the congregation was not a parish of the Episcopal Church in the United States; and this is just the fact which it would be important to have distinctly understood, on all hands.

3. The difficulties growing out of the claim of exclusive authority for episcopally ordained ministers are of two sorts: they relate either (1) to the stated pastorate, or (2) to occasional services.

(1.) With a *naïveté* which always wins my affectionate admiration, some Episcopalian clergymen suggest that the difficulty touching the pastorate may be completely solved by always giving that office to an Episcopalian—"He is acceptable to every one, you know, and nobody else would be acceptable to our people." I need hardly explain to you why this solution does not strike all minds as completely satisfactory.

A more complete solution may be sought in the suggestion, made long ago in the Episcopal Church apropos of a certain "Memorial," and repeated almost importunately since, in behalf of the Episcopal Church, in the interest of Christian Union—that the element of apostolic

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authority derived from succession should be introduced into the ordination of ministers of other communions. In the form in which this was first suggested—the grafting upon the stock of the American Episcopal Church of vast branches, bigger than the stock itself—it was doubtless open to practical objections from both sides. But to the plan of extending this offer of ordination to "godly and well learned men," designated to the exceptional duty of foreign chaplaincy, in order that they might be enabled to minister orderly and to edification to Episcopalian travellers and sojourners, as well as to others, there could be few objections from your side which would not also be objections to every act of Christian comity.

And the difficulties from the other side, which were obvious in the case of the "Memorial" proposals, would not prevail in the present case supposed. It was an unlikely thing that a great religious body, like the Methodist Church, for instance, after negotiation, deliberation, discussion, and vote, should come bending to its little sister consenting to have its illegitimate ministry validated by an improved mode of ordination. But it is not in the least unlikely that individual clergymen, and those of the highest worth, might gladly receive a special ordination for a special work. There are some few, indeed, who hold to a theory of apostolical succession through the presbyterial line, and to these few the proposal of an Episcopal ordination would seem like a disparagement of their former commission. But for my part, to receive the benediction of one of the chief pastors of another communion, with his commission to care for members of his own flock scattered abroad, would seem to me no more sacrilegious than for Paul and Barnabas,

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after years of apostolic and prophetic ministry, to receive the laying on of hands of their brethren when sent to the Jews of the dispersion.

It has never been claimed that belief of the special validity of Episcopal ordination was necessary as a condition of receiving such ordination.

Will you not explain to me wherein consists the good faith of those urgent invitations and expostulations repeated by high representatives of the Episcopal Church, yourself among others, to their brethren of other ministries, to remove the one great hindrance to Christian Union by accepting the free gift of the laying on of apostolic hands, which would make it right in conscience to recognize them as belonging to the true ministry of Christ's Church? I am persuaded that there was an honest meaning in it, as in everything that I hear or read from you. It is impossible to think that all that was intended in that affectionate appeal in behalf of Christian Union was simply an invitation to come out of Babylon, pass a year's quarantine, and then reappear as one of the "inferior clergy" in search of an Episcopal parish. I am bound to presume that it contemplated some way in which one could share the fellowship of the ministry of the Episcopal Church without renouncing that of the Church Catholic.

I would fall back on this for a solution of the difficulty. Let the person designated as pastor of a foreign American congregation, when he happens to be of some other ministry than that of the Episcopal Church, on giving satisfactory evidence of his fitness, and satisfactory evidence that his special commission will be exercised in a generous and loyal spirit, be ordained—be reordained,

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if you like (the word need not scare any one)—to his special mission in the Episcopalian part of his flock.

(2.) The difficulty which relates to the occasional services of ministers of various Christian confessions, who from time to time may be sojourners at the place of the chaplaincy, is one not less important than that which relates to the pastorate. To you it is not necessary to explain the importance of it. No man feels it more distinctly. But I have no doubt that there are those in your denomination who in all simplicity and sincerity fail to understand why any should refuse to be satisfied with an arrangement on this basis: that the Reverend Mr. Cream Cheese, stopping over upon the grand tour, should be recognized as a clergyman, and that the most illustrious saints and teachers of the American Church—a Stoddard or a Schauffler on his return from apostolic toils and triumphs in the mission-field, a Woolsey, or a Hodge, a Simpson or a John Hall, rich from the exploration of Christian truth, or glowing with the joy of successful preaching—should be required to sit dumb, as not being validly ordained. If there be such, they ought to be made to understand that, even if it were an easy and graceful thing for their Christian brethren to repudiate beloved and venerated preachers of the Gospel for others just as good, the actual question would be on repudiating them for others admitted to be inferior. For on this point, although I purposely refrain from pressing it invidiously, I suppose that there is really no doubt whatever. It has been remarked on to me, not long ago, with great emphasis, by each of two of the most eminent dignitaries of the Church of England: The importance of this question, then, is clear. Happily, the solution of it

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is not far to seek. It lies in recognizing these two points:

First: That ordination to office in one church does not make a man minister of another church. Our principles do not differ with regard to this. When you and I were neighbor pastors in New York and Brooklyn, if I had come into your church, I should have been a layman there; and if you had come into my church you would have been a laymen with us,—only I should have been at liberty, in accordance with the general and graceful usage of American churches, to recognize your official position in another church with acts of courtesy which you would have been forbidden by rules to reciprocate.

The inference from this principle is that no person, however ordained, would have any right to officiate in such a congregation as we are supposing, without being duly invited.

Secondly: That the functions of preaching and leading in public worship are not regarded as exclusively priestly functions, even by those who hold most strenuously that there is such a thing as a "changeable priesthood" in the Christian Church. Among such, it is a matter of rule and usage and good order that, in ordinary circumstances, these functions be discharged by those whom they recognize as priests. But the question is how to provide, not for ordinary circumstances, but for extraordinary; and it is very certain that in the Episcopal Church, under the most scrupulous administration, persons having no claim to sacerdotal character are invited, when occasion requires, to address religious congregations and to offer prayers.

But I do not think that any would desire that in a

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congregation so peculiarly situated the pulpit-door should be carelessly left open to any person presenting himself in a white cravat or with a claim to apostolic succession. I think it would be found a general convenience, in the circumstances, if it were understood that the chaplain's *general* rule, on this point, to be departed from only for good reason, was to invite into his place only persons furnished with recommendations from a Committee in America in which the government of the Episcopal Church would naturally be represented.

I trust that I have said enough to show that no *principle* stands in the way of the healing of such a poor, pitiable little schism as the Episcopal Church, through its representative and missionary, has effected in the American community at Geneva. And yet I have not written with sanguine hopes of a practical result. For I fear that the ready answer to all such suggestions will be—must be, perhaps—a *non possumus;* that the Episcopal Church, and each of its bishops and ministers, are so bound by rules to one narrow and invariable method of operation, that with the best will in the world it is impossible for them to depart from it.[1] I am afraid this is so. I am afraid that the dominant party in the Church has bound itself as under a doom to hold its "high" pretensions in connection with a policy which impeaches them of holding those pretensions, I will not say with conscious insincerity, but with dubious conviction and palpable unfaithfulness. For

1. This proved to be literally the case. The answer of Bishop Coxe published, in the same Quarterly in October of the same year, was overflowing with expressions of kindness and respect, but the upshot of it all was "we have a law, and by that law" we must make a schism wherever we can get a foothold. *Lex dura sed lex.* Of course I do not offer this summary of Dr. Coxe's article as one which he would accept as complete, but only as the reading of it from our catholic point of view.

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"high" principles can not be held in righteousness, except in connection with a broad policy. The claim to be the one Catholic Church for America, to which the allegiance of every baptized American is due, implies the duty of putting no wanton or arbitrary hindrance in the way of such allegiance. The pretension to be trustees of a grand deposit of sacramental grace, on which the salvation of the souls of the whole people largely depends, carries with it an awful responsibility for making this grace freely accessible to all,—for opening conduits in all directions, that it may flow forth without hindrance to every soul that will receive it. The "Evangelical," who holds that there is a legitimate way to heaven through the Presbyterian or Methodist Church, and that no one is bound to be an Episcopalian unless he prefers it, might innocently enough insist on rigid and narrow laws within his church concerning non-essential matters,—that there shall be one set of prayers, one hymn-book, one cut of gown, one code of dogma, one school of preachers—and that those who do not like these may seek some other fold. But the High-Churchman, who believes that there is no true fold but his pin-fold, can not act thus without condemning himself of horrible sin, against God and against humanity. And yet it is thus that he does act—for it is he who controls the policy and makes the laws of his Church. He calls to all his fellow-countrymen to come into the ark of safety, but stands himself in the door-way to see to it that none get in except on condition of conforming to his own notions of etiquette. Of all the religious bodies that claim to be nothing but parts of the Church, do you know of any which pursues a policy so rigidly narrow with regard to mere circumstantials and

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non-essentials as that body which claims to be itself the Church Catholic for the United States?

It would be wrong to infer from this policy that the notions with which it is associated are held insincerely. But it can not be unjust to infer that they are not held, in general, with any great depth or thoroughness of conviction.

And after all, is the divisive, schismatic course so often pursued in the name of the Episcopal Church, really a matter of principle at all? Is it a sort of thing that is amenable to serious argument? Is there not reasonable ground to fear that the course of action in that Church has been controlled, to an extent of which its best men have been unconscious, by a very different class of people, whose influence tends to oppose any acts of accommodation or courtesy towards other Christians, however wise or right. These are people who have a keen relish for schism for its own sake. They like a select and exclusive church, and are willing to pay smartly for it, much in the same way in which they like a first-class car on a German railroad—not because it is any better or more respectable than the second class car, but because it keeps somebody else out, and so inspires in the person within a transient but pleasing sense of being a distinguished individual. It is from this class of our fellow-citizens (they abound in Europe) that we hear the frequent longing for established class distinctions in American society—a longing not unmixed with happy and assured convictions as to the grade to which, in that case, one would find one's self assigned. To such aspiring souls the distinctive privilege of being a fellow-communicant with my lord Tomnoddy, and of having a minute but indefeasible personal interest in the

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archbishop of Canterbury, brings tender feelings of gratitude for the mercy that has so lifted them up, at least on Sundays, above the common lot of their fellow-republicans. Is there not reasonable ground to fear that there are enough of such people in the Episcopal Church to have insensibly affected its policy, and in some instances to have effected schisms for vanity's sake, or for schism's own sake, that never would have been begun for the sake of any serious principle. If there be a disproportionately large element of this sort in the Episcopal Church, I am well aware that the shame and blame of it must be borne in part by other denominations, from whose fold they have in many cases come forth. But I am unwilling to think that such feelings can be allowed to hold any lasting influence upon the policy of a considerable and respectable religious organization. I will not believe, except under the compulsion of facts, that the Episcopal Church is hopelessly committed to the policy of fomenting or maintaining such schisms as this which has occasioned the present letter.

If some solution of the question in hand could be reached, it would be a matter of great satisfaction and joy to the multitude of Christians of every name in America. It would confer vast additional power on the growing influence of American Christianity in Europe. But can there be a doubt that the chief gainer would be the Episcopal Church itself? In one view it would be a loser. These mingled congregations of American travellers and sojourners could not be added up into the statistics of sectarian growth. They could not be used as proselyting traps to catch wayfarers. They would afford no opportunity either to priest or to people of the

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Episcopalian sort for loftily making-believe that there are no other sorts of Christians in the world. There are minds doubtless to whom these will be fatal objections. But over against these might be set the blessings, both to the heart and to the intellect, which spring from "the communion of saints" It is impossible to read a "Church" newspaper, or frequent the conversation of "Church" circles in America, without feeling how hungrily that whole region of religious society needs to be liberalized by some actual fellowship with the Church universal. I do not doubt that you feel it more deeply than I do. The adjustment of terms of agreement for common worship among Christian travellers abroad would be a safe and practicable beginning of such fellowship; and from this beginning what good things might possibly grow?

Do not think me insincere in arguing for the good of the Episcopal Church. Among its members and especially in its ministry are some of my most cherished friends. For my brethren and my companions' sakes, may peace be within its walls. Because of the house of the Lord our God, I will seek its good.

I do not speak as representing any party. For some years it has been my fixed purpose to belong to no sect, and not to be counted on either side in a schism. I come with my family to reside near this venerable city, and find that the congregation which should have been our spiritual home has been desolated by this wanton schism. There is nothing for me to do but to show, with every opportunity, that I count my brethren on both sides, and that my paramount love and allegiance is due to the whole and not to either fragment; to pray for the peace of Jerusalem; and at the same time to send forth this

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appeal to the quarter in which I am sure of a sympathetic hearing, and from which I do not despair of an influential response. Perhaps it will be deemed too late to heal this "hurt of Zion" Perhaps the mischief will have to go on aggravating itself with time, and be perpetuated and displayed in stone as a monumental scandal of American Christianity before the annual throng of European travellers. Perhaps there will have to be a race and scuffle of sects for the first foothold in the various frequented capitals of Europe, and a repetition of this edifying exhibition before the scorn of a wider audience. But I do not believe you will suffer it to be by your fault; and I know it will not be by mine. I have delivered my soul.

Fraternally and truly yours,

LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON.

Petit Saconnex, Geneva, December, 10, 1873.

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VI.

HOW TO AVERT A SCHISM.

A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AT HIS GRACE'S REQUEST.*

GENEVA, October 1, 1875.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP:

I can not better show my appreciation of your great courtesy in inviting me to write to you concerning the provision for English worship on the continent of Europe, than by using the greatest simplicity and brevity in presenting my views.

The substance of what I would say is this: 1. There is impending a separation between English and American travellers in their arrangements for worship. 2. Such a

* It was after the substance of these pages had been presented to the Archbishop in conversation, that his Grace very kindly proposed that the case should be fully stated in writing and sent to him, to be brought to the attention of the Bishop of London. On receiving it, he further requested that copies should be sent to certain of the English bishops, whose addresses he furnished; and later it was made the text of a discussion in a private meeting of the bishops. I have to acknowledge the cordial expressions of interest and approval which it drew

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separation is earnestly to be deprecated. 3. It may be averted by a wise and generous policy, involving no compromise of principle, on the part of those representing the interests of the Church of England.

1. When I speak of an impending separation between English and American Christians in their arrangements for worship, I speak partly from my personal knowledge of the feelings and plans of my fellow-countrymen. But there is no need of personal witness. A moment's consideration of the case is enough. It is generally declared by those whose business connects them with the travelling public, that the English on the Continent are now outnumbered by the Americans; and this disproportion increases annually. Up to the present time, except in a few of the chief centres of concourse, American Christians of every name have gracefully accepted and generously requited the hospitality of the English Chapels, rendering them, in some cases (I speak by the highest authority) much more than half their support. But it is in itself unlikely that they will long be content with this relation to chapels governed and served exclusively by Englishmen, under forms rigorously, nationally, and even politically English, throughout which (with the exception of one brief interpolation) one-half the congregation, or more, are recognized only as spectators of the worship of others.

2. Such a division between English and American

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forth in private letters from several of the most eminent bishops and other dignitaries of the Church of England. Indeed the only expressions of dissatisfaction I have heard from any quarter, have been from some of my friends in the American Protestant Episcopal Church, who have shown a certain coy and graceful reluctance to accept the praise which it so justly awards to their enterprising and industrious denomination.

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travellers would be an evil that ought to be prevented. The first evil consequence of it would be felt in the embarrassment of many of the existing English chapels. It was publicly declared, not long ago, by the rector of the English church in Geneva, that before the organization of the church of which I am in charge, three-fourths of the income of the English church had been derived from American worshippers. One of the secretaries of the Colonial and Continental Church Society has expressed the conviction that "the withdrawal of American support would sadly endanger the efficiency of many of their chaplaincies." But this inconvenience, although no trifling matter, is a far less serious one than the scandals almost inevitably incident to such a separation—the emulations, the irritations and the visible divisions, countervailing, in most observers, all proofs of a spiritual and real unity. And a greater evil still would be the loss of a sacred bond of fellowship between the kindred nations —a bond which every friend of the kingdom of God on earth must desire to see strengthened rather than abolished.

3. The impending separation may be averted by a wise policy on the part of those charged with the interests of the Church of England on this continent. The movement which might already have been in progress for the organization of a system of American chapels in Europe, has been postponed by the present financial disturbances. It will probably be further postponed by the festivities of the coming year in the United States. I am certain that it will be postponed indefinitely, if, on the part of the Church of England there shall meanwhile be made some generous provision for the common worship of mixed

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congregations, made up out of two nations and of many different communions. To such provision (if I rightly understand the bearing of the legal opinion lately rendered in the case submitted by the Bishop of London and Mr. Fremantle) there is no legal hindrance. Neither, as will shortly appear, can there be any theological objection to it, from any quarter. Nor yet, on the other hand, would any moral obstruction stand in the way of its being cordially accepted by American Christians, whose kindly feeling of affection and deference towards the Church of England, which is, in so just a sense, "the mother of us all" has survived many generations of separation, and many causes of alienation. There is no religious organization in America to which American Christians generally would be so well content to commit their interests in such arrangements, as to their brethren of the English Church, acting with a generous regard for the whole English-speaking community on this Continent.

If, now, it is asked what changes would be needed in the existing arrangements for English worship on the Continent, I answer, in general: Whatever is necessary to fit them to the obvious wants of congregations of double nationality and diverse ecclesiastical relations. The needful changes might, perhaps, all be included under these two heads, (1) Order of worship; (2) Spirit of administration.

(1) Beside certain obvious modifications, as in the forms of prayer for rulers, the necessary liturgic changes would include some accommodations in the interest of brevity and the avoidance of repetition, such as are reckoned desirable, though unattainable, in England itself, but would be indispensable elsewhere.

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(2) The Spirit of the Administration of these Chapels should be that of the largest Christian fellowship. Especially it should make cordial and practical recognition of those *Ordines Predicatorum* which are extant and active throughout all English-speaking Christendom, making no claim to sacerdotal functions, but universally approved as "apt to teach" and as qualified to lead their fellow Christians in the ordinary offices of common prayer and praise.

It will be objected that I stop here, just where the difficulties of the case begin. That is just where I meant to stop. "Whereto, then, we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing."

When we come to the matter of the administration of the sacraments, there are serious divergences. The great body of American Christians would have grave objection to the forms used in the administration of baptism in the Church of England; and an earnest and important party in the English Church would object not less strenuously to any administration whatever of the Lord's Supper by the great multitude of the American Clergy. These differences are not to be trifled with, for they are matters of conscience. But I fail to find in them any reason why, up to the point of divergence, the companies of travellers of different nations but of the same language and the same Christian faith should separate from each other in their acts of ordinary and common worship.

One mistake it seems necessary to guard against—not I am aware, in the mind of your Grace, but in less informed minds—the mistake of supposing that the desired relations with the American Church can be effected by means of a league formed with one of the parties or sects of American

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Christians, to the exclusion of the general commonwealth of believers in that land. Naturally enough, the American relations of the English clergy have been chiefly with members and ministers of the American Protestant Episcopal church; insomuch that some Englishmen have certainly got the impression that, aside from the fact of State establishment, this highly respectable body stands in some such relation to the American people as the English church does to the English people—a mistake that would wofully mislead in dealing with the question. The American Episcopal Church has eminent claims to respect. It bears a striking resemblance to the very best of the dissenting sects of England—a resemblance of which it may be justly proud. No one can duly honor its prosperity and increase who does not know the disadvantages under which they have been won. The remark made some thirty years ago by the *Westminster Review* holds true to this day—that no standard work in American literature has ever come from the pen of an Episcopalian minister. The splendid contributions of the American Church to the sum of theological science in its every department owe nothing of importance to Episcopalian scholars. I am told by an eminent dignitary of the English Church that, when the commission on Bible Revision was organizing a corresponding Board of American scholars, there was an embarrassing difficulty in finding competent men in the Episcopal Church to give that body a proportionate representation. And yet, notwithstanding this inferiority and the inferiority of numbers, the American Episcopalians, by dint of vigorous self-assertion (which is not in the least inconsistent with a sincere inward humility) and by dint of faithful,

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conscientious pushing and proselyting, aided in no slight degree by the prestige of their relation to your venerable body, have raised themselves to a position among the very foremost in the second rank of the Christian sects of America. It is with no reluctance, but with unaffected pleasure, that I bear this testimony in their praise. With the exception of the Wesleyans and the Roman Catholics, I doubt whether any body of British dissenters can show a better record of successful propagandism than the American Episcopalians. But we should not allow our admiration to blind us to the facts in the case. It is right to remember that a proposal on the part of the English Church to meet the wants of Americans in general by an exclusive arrangement with one of the minor sects in America, however respectable, would not be, in the nature of things, a hopeful one. The authority or influence of "the mother of us all" can not be delegated to one of the smaller children with any reasonable prospect of advantage to the family peace. The deference of American Christians toward the old Church of England is sincere and lasting, and with a wise and generous policy it may be turned to a noble use in the interest of Christian fellowship all over the world. Or it may be put to a very poor and unworthy use in abetting the pretensions of one party of American Christians against all the rest, and so perish in the using.

I have written this whole letter on the presumption that, under the late opinion of eminent counsel, the English clergy, of all degrees, are free, in their relation to the work of the gospel in foreign parts, from the rigorous legal restrictions that bind them within the realm. I trust that I am not mistaken. Certainly I cannot have mis-

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understood the generous spirit of your Grace, in listening so earnestly to the statement of this subject from me, a stranger, and in inviting this written communication. I leave the matter confidently and very gratefully in your hands.

I remain, in the ministry of the gospel, your lordship's obedient servant,

LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON,
American Pastor, Geneva.

To his Grace,
The Archbishop of Canterbury, Lambeth.

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VII.

HOW THE REV. DR. STONE BETTERED HIS SITUATION.*

AN EXAMINATION OF THE ASSURANCE OF SALVATION, AND THE CERTAINTY OF BELIEF, TO WHICH WE ARE AFFECTIONATELY INVITED BY HIS HOLINESS THE POPE.

NOTE.—This Article, first published in the *New Englander* Quarterly, of July, 1870, was reissued as a pamphlet by the "American and Foreign Christian Union" with the following

PREFACE.

For many generations it has been a standing accusation against the Roman Catholic Church that it has a tendency to demoralize society and the individual, by issuing certificates, written or oral, of the forgiveness of sins, and of the remission of the penalties of them, both in this world and the world to come, on the performance of rites, or the payment of money, or on other conditions different from those required in the gospel—repentance and faith.

In answer to this accusation, the apologists of the Roman Church have constantly averred, sometimes with a great show of

* *The Invitation Heeded:* Reasons for a Return to Catholic Unity. By JAMES KENT STONE, late President of Kenyon College, Gambier; and of Hobart College, Geneva, New York; and S. T. D. Catholic Publication Society. 1870. 12mo. pp. 341.

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indignation, that these certificates of forgiveness of sin and remission of penalty and assurance of salvation do not mean, and are well understood not to mean, what their terms import;—that the understanding is distinct and explicit between the Church and its devotees, that when the priest says, "I absolve thee," he does not in fact absolve at all, and that the forgiveness of the "penitent," to whom these words have been pronounced in the confessional, is just as entirely contingent on his true repentance, as the forgiveness of any sinner outside of the Church can be; that the promise given in an "indulgence" of the remission of purgatorial torment, notwithstanding it may be absolute in form, is really subject to similar conditions; and that the grace to be conferred, *opere operato*, by the sacraments generally, is in like manner dependent on such and so many contingencies, as to preclude the danger that any person will be tempted into sin by assurance of safety; that if at any time *impenitent* persons have been induced by the agents of the Church to *purchase* indulgences promising to remit the penalties of their sins, these promises, given by her agents in her name, are indignantly disavowed and repudiated by the Church—although there is no recorded instance of the money being refunded.

On the other hand, however, an opposite style of address is sometimes taken up by this Church and its advocates,—a style of address calculated to assure those who have thought themselves shut up to the gospel promises of forgiveness on condition of repentance and faith—that there is something a great deal more certain and assured to be had in the Church of Rome;—that her clergy have a peculiar power of binding and loosing, which other clergymen do not possess;—that there is a gracious virtue in her sacraments, which cannot be found in others;—that her pope, especially, has control over the keys of the kingdom of heaven. There is much in the tone of her teachings, in the language of her sacraments, and in the terms of her indulgences and other documents that corresponds with these pretensions. They are summed up in the persuasive language of Pope Pius IX., in his letter of September 13th, 1868, addressed to Protestant Christians, in which he implores them to "rescue themselves from a state in which they cannot be assured of their own salvation," and come into his fold, where, as he implies, they *can* be assured of it.

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These two "Phases of Catholicity," contradictory as they are, do, nevertheless, belong to the same system. And many a luckless polemic, reasoning from one set of the utterances of the Church of Rome, has been suddenly overwhelmed with the Virtuous Indignation and Injured Innocence with which his antagonists have confronted him with the other set of utterances, crying out upon him, "Is it Honest to say thus and so, when here are passages in our books or facts in our *American* practice which say just the contrary?"

If the Church of Rome could be driven up to choose between its two contradictory doctrines, the remaining controversy would be a short one. But this is hopeless. It clings inexpugnably to the fence, ready to drop on either side, for the time, as the exigency of controversy may require. It moves to and fro in its double-corner on the checker-board, and challenges defeat.

The following pages discuss the pretensions of the Roman Catholic Church in that aspect in which they have been less frequently and thoroughly canvassed. The representations herein contained of the teaching of that Church have been made with scrupulous care from the most trustworthy sources, to which copious references are given in the margin. But I am not so sanguine as to suppose that I shall be credited by the apologists of Romanism, even with honesty and good faith. I have no reason to doubt that the old trick will be played again—that books universally allowed and approved by the authorities of that denomination will be repudiated as of no authority,—that contrary teachings will be cited from other Roman Catholic authors,—(it is easy to find such on each side of almost any important question)—and that these most evasive and slippery antagonists will wind up their reply with shricks of Is it Honest?

Before concluding this Preface, I desire to record one more disclaimer concerning the gentleman whose book suggested this discussion, and whose theological position I have shown to be absurd. I have no knowledge of the Rev. Dr. Stone, except by his book, and by the highly honorable family antecedents which his name suggests. But it is my strong impression that, whatever may be said of his theological position, there is nothing else about him that is not eminently worthy of respect; and that by virtue

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both of his Christian sincerity and of his talents and scholarship, he is a convert of whom the Roman Catholic Church in America may most reasonably be proud.

This is one of the most interesting specimens of a very interesting class of books—those written by converts to or from Romanism in vindication of their change of views; and when that good day comes when we all have time for every thing, we shall count it well worth while to criticize it in detail. At present, we undertake no more than rapidly to state the upshot of the Rev. Dr. Stone's religious change, as it appears to us, and to foot up the balance of spiritual advantage which he seems to have gained by it.

A year ago last October, the Rev. James Kent Stone, D.D., a minister of excellent standing in the Protestant Episcopal Church, received, in common with the rest of us, a copy of a letter from the pope of Rome, in whieh he was affectionately invited to "rescue himself from a state in which he could not be assured of his own salvation," by becoming a member of the Roman Catholic Church,—which teaches, by the way, that as soon as a man becomes "assured of his own salvation" it is a dead certainty that he will be damned.[1]

Accordingly, the Rev. Dr. Stone, deeply conscious how uncertain and perilous is the position of those who merely commit themselves in well doing, with simplicity and sincerity, to the keeping of the Lord Jesus Christ according to his promises, "hastens to rescue himself from that

1. Act. Conc. Trid., Sess. VI., Cap. IX., XII., XIII.

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state, in which he cannot be assured of his own salvation," and betters himself wonderfully, as follows:

I. His first step is to make sure of his regeneration and entrance into the true church by the door of the church, which is, according to his new teachers, not Christ, but baptism.[1] To be sure he has once been baptized, and the Council of Trent warns him not to dare affirm that baptism administered by a heretic (like his good old father) is not true baptism.[2] But as all his everlasting interests are now pending on a question which no mortal can answer, to wit, whether at the time of the baptism of little James, being then of tender age, the interior intention of old Doctor Stone corresponded with a certain doubtful and variously interpreted requirement of the Council of Trent—that he should "intend to do what the church does"[3]—it is well to make his "assurance of salvation" doubly sure, by a "hypothetical baptism" from the hands of a Roman Catholic priest, with some accompaniments which although "not of absolute necessity to his salvation, are of great importance"—such as a little salt in his mouth to excite "a relish for good works," a little of the priest's spittle smeared upon his ears and nostrils to "open him into an odor of sweetness," a little of the essential "oil of catechumens" on his breast and between his shoulders, and of the "oil of chrism" on the crown of his head, with a "white garment" on, outside of his coat and pantaloons, and a lighted candle in his hand in the daytime.[4] If there is a way of meriting heaven by a process of mortification, we have little doubt that it must be for a respectable

1. Concil. Florent., "*vitae spiritualis janua.*"
2. Concil. Trid., Canon 4, De Bapt.
3. Conc. Trid., Sess. VII., Can. 11.
4. See the Roman Catechism.

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middle-aged gentleman who has learned, by being president of two colleges, the importance of preserving his personal dignity, to be operated upon in just this way. Nothing, we should imagine, could add to the poignancy of his distress, and consequent merit, unless it should be to have the members of the Sophomore class present while he was having his nose "opened into the odor of sweetness."

Doubtless the object to be gained is amply worth the sacrifice, since it is to "rescue oneself from that state in which he cannot be assured of his own salvation," and avoid that "eternal misery and everlasting destruction," which, according to the authoritative catechism of the Roman Catholic church is the alternative of valid baptism. This second ceremony, be it remembered, is only a hypothetical one, calculated to hit him if he is unbaptized, but, in case it should appear in the judgment of the last day that old Dr. Stone *had* intended to "do what the church does (it being, at present, not infallibly settled what such an intention is) then this latter and merely hypothetical ceremonial is to be held to have been no baptism at all, but null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever. But considering that the issues of eternity are pending on the insoluble question as to the validity of the first baptism, considering that a defect here can never be supplied to all eternity, whether by years of fidelity in other sacraments, or by æons of torture in purgatorial fire, since it is only by baptism that "the right of partaking of the other sacraments is acquired,"[1] it is nothing more than common prudence to adopt a course that diminishes by at least one-half the chances of a fatal defect. It must be admitted that there still remains a possibility of the defect of

1. Dens, De Bapt. Tractat.

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intention in the second act as well as in the first; such things having been known in ecclesiastical history as the purposed "withholding of the intention" in multitudes of sacramental acts on the part of an unfaithful priest. Still, it may be held, perhaps, by the Rev. Dr. Stone, that the hypothetical transaction makes the matter nearly enough certain for all his practical purposes (as the old arithmetics used to say) although it falls a good deal short of that "assurance of his own salvation" to which he was invited in the pope's letter.[1]

But presuming that between his two baptisms Dr. Stone is validly entered into the Roman Catholic Church, may we not now congratulate him on the (hypothetical) assurance of his own salvation? Not quite yet. To be sure, he has received the remission of all his sins, up to that time, both original and actual, and the remission of the punishment of them, both temporal and eternal, and has been (as the Holy Father promised in his letter of a year

1. It is very pleasant, from time to time, as one traverses the dreary waste of "commandments contained in ordinances" which make up the Romish system, to come upon some admission or proviso which fairly interpreted nullifies all the rest. The Council of Trent, for instance, declares that "without the washing of regeneration (meaning baptism) or *the desire of it,* there can be no justification," and teaches that an unbeliever brought to embrace Christianity, not having the opportunity of baptism but yet desiring to receive it, is "baptized in desire," —the desire supplying the place of the actual sacrament. [See *Concil. Trident* Sess. VI., Can. 4; Sess. VII., Can. 4, Also Bishop's Hay's "Sincere Christian," Vol. I., Chap. XX]. It is obvious enough that the just interpretation and application of these very Christian teachings would blow the "doctrine of intention" and of the "*opus operatum*" to pieces. But the thorough-going Romanizers scorn to take advantage of such weak concessions. Cardinal Pallavicini says decidedly, "there is nothing repugnant in the idea that no person in particular, after all possible researches, can come to be perfectly sure of his baptism. Nobody can complain that he suffers this evil without having deserved it. God, by a goodness purely arbitrary, delivers the one without delivering the other." [Quoted in Bungener's History of the Council of Trent, p. 159]. This line of argument will be of no small comfort to Dr. Stone in his disappointment about the "assurance of his own salvation."

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ago last September) "enriched with unexhausted treasures" of divine grace.[1] But it is damnable heresy not to acknowledge that "he may lose the grace," or to hold "that it is possible for him to avoid all sins—unless by special privilege from God, such as the church holds to have been granted to the blessed Virgin."[2] Grace may come and go, but orthodoxy agrees with experience in teaching that "concupiscence which is the fuel of sin remains."[3] It is damnable, therefore, to affirm that the rest of the seven sacraments are not necessary to Dr. Stone's salvation;[4] and especially to affirm that "it is possible for him if he shall fall" [as he inevitably will] "after baptism, to recover his lost righteousness without the sacrament of penance,"[5] which is "rightly called *a second plank after shipwreck;*"[6] and equally damnable to "deny that sacramental confession is necessary to salvation;"[7] or to "affirm that in order to receive remission of sins in the sacrament of penance it is not necessary, *jure divino,* for him to confess all and every mortal sin which occurs to his memory after due and diligent premeditation —even his secret sins."[8]

We find, therefore, that our estimable friend is very, very far indeed, up to this point, from having got what he went for. He thought he was stepping upon something solid, but finds himself all at once in great waters, and making a clutch at the "second plank after shipwreck."

1. *Catech. Roman.*, 152-169.
2. *Concil. Trident.*, Sess. vi., Can. 22.
3. *Catech. Roman., ubi supra*
4. *Concil Trident.*, Sess. vii., Can. 4.
5. *Ibid.*, Sess. vi., Can. 29. De Justif.
6. *Ibid.*, Sess. xiv., Can. 2.
7. *Ibid.*, Sess. xiv., Can. 6.
8. *Ibid.*, Sess. xiv., Can. 7.

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A certain embarrassment attends him at his first approach to the sacrament of penance. He has a distinct understanding with the church that all sins incurred before baptism, both original sin and actual sins, and all the punishment of them, both eternal punishment in hell, and temporal punishments in this world or in purgatory, are absolutely and entirely remitted in that sacrament, and that no confession or penance is due on their account.[1]

But now the painful question arises, when was he baptized? He may well hope that the transaction of his good old heretic of a father and of his sponsors in baptism, when they called him M. or N., was only an idle ceremony; for in that case the long score of his acts and deeds of heresy and schism all his life through is wiped out by the hypothetical baptism, and he may begin his confessions from a very recent date. But if his father had the right sort of intention, then this hypothetical baptism is no baptism at all, and he is to begin at the beginning with his penances. Inasmuch as neither man nor angel can settle the question, he will act wisely to follow the safe example of St. Augustine, and begin his confessions with owning up frankly to the indiscretions (to use the mildest term) with which, in early infancy, he aggravated the temper of his nurse, and peradventure disturbed the serenity of his reverend parent. Doubtless it will make a long story, but what is that, when one is seeking for the "assurance of his own salvation?"—and O the joy—the calm, serene peace when he shall hear at last from the lips of the duly accredited representative of the church the operative sacramental words, *Ego absolvo te*, and *know*, at last, after all these forty or fifty years of painful

1. *Catech. Roman., ubi supra.*

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uncertainty, that at least for this little moment, he is in a state of forgiveness and peace with God!

But softly! We are on the very verge, before we think of it, of repeating that wicked calumny upon the Roman Catholic church against which Father Hecker so indignantly protests, saying:

"Is it Honest *to persist in saying that Catholics believe their sins are forgiven, merely by the confession of them to the priest, without a true sorrow for them, or a true purpose to quit them*— when every child finds the contrary distinctly and clearly stated in the catechism, which he is obliged to learn before he is admitted to the sacraments?"*

Of course it is not honest! We have not examined the catechism in question, for the reason that if *we* were to quote it against the church of Rome we should be told that it was not authoritative, and be scornfully snubbed for pretending to refer to what was not one of their standards —but of course it is conclusive against our honesty when *they* quote it. To be sure, the priest says in so many words, "I absolve thee from thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" and Bishop Hay, in a volume commended by the proper authorities to the confidence of the faithful, declares that "Jesus Christ has passed his sacred word that when they [the priests] forgive a penitent's sins by pronouncing the sentence of absolution upon him, they are actually forgiven."[2] But then nothing is better established than that these authorized books of religious instruction may be repudiated at discretion as of no authority at all, whenever the exigency requires it. Then the Catechism of the

1. Tract of the Catholic Publication Society.
2. Sincere Christian, Vol. II., p. 69.

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Council of Trent says in terms, "Our sins are forgiven by the absolution of the priest;"[1] "the absolution of the priest, which is expressed in words, seals the remission of sins, *which it accomplishes* in the soul;"[2] "unlike the authority given to the priests of the old law, to declare the leper cleansed from his leprosy, the power with which the priests of the new law are invested is not simply to declare that sins are forgiven, but as the ministers of God, really to absolve from sin."[3] Thus the Catechism of the Council of Trent; but bless your simple soul! it is not the Catechism of the Council that is infallible, but only the *decrees* of the Council; and although these do, in their obvious meaning, seem to say the same thing, nevertheless Dr. Stone will find, when he comes to search among them in hopes to "read his title clear" to divine forgiveness, on the ground of having received absolution from the priest, that what they say is qualified by so many saving clauses, and modified by so many counter-statements, that the seeker for the assurance of his own salvation is as far as ever from being able to

——"bid farewell to every fear,
And wipe his weeping eyes."

Only one thing is absolutely certain; and that is that it is impossible for him to be forgiven without absolution,[4] but whether he is forgiven, or is going to be, now that he has received his absolution, does not by any means so distinctly appear. For "if he denies that in order to the entire and perfect forgiveness of sins, *three* acts are

1. Catech. Roman, p. 239.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
3. *Ibid.*, See the various Canons of Sessions vi. and xiv., of the Council of Trent, above-quoted.

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required *in the penitent*, to wit, Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction, he is to be Anathema,"[1] which, if we understand it correctly, is quite another thing from being forgiven and assured of his salvation. Now Contrition, according to the same infallible authority, "is the distress and horror of the mind on account of sin committed, with the purpose to sin no more." "It includes not only the ceasing from sin, but the purpose and commencement of a new life and hatred of the old."[2] It is "produced by the scrutiny, summing up, and detestation of sins, with which one recounts his past years in the bitterness of his soul, with pondering the weight, multitude, and baseness of his sins, the loss of eternal happiness, and the incurring of eternal damnation, together with the purpose of a better life."[3] Now it is important for Dr. Stone to understand (as doubtless he has been told, by this time) that although this will be of no avail to him without the absolution, or at least the desire for the absolution,[4] nevertheless the absolution will be of none effect unless the contrition shall have been adequately performed.

Furthermore, a second part of the sacrament is confession, and there is an awful margin of uncertainty about this act; for it is damnable to deny that "it is necessary, *jure divino*, in order to forgiveness of sins, to confess all and every mortal sin which may be remembered after due and diligent premeditation."[5] But which of his sins are mortal and which venial, it is simply impossible for the Rev. Dr. Stone to know by this time, for it is a life's labor

1. Conc. Trid., Sess. xiv., Can. 4.
2. *Ibid.*, Sess. xiv., Cap. 4.
3. *Ibid.*, Sess. xiv., Can. 5.
4. *Ibid.*, Sess. xiv., Cap. 4.
5. *Ibid.*, Sess. xiv., Can. 7.

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to learn the distinctions between them from the theologians, and when you have learned the distinctions, you have no certainty about them, for they never have been infallibly defined, and the doctors disagree. It may be tedious, but it is obviously necessary, in order to the assurance of his salvation, for the Doctor to make a clean breast of all the sins, big and little, that he can remember "after due and diligent premeditation." But what degree of premeditation is "due" and "diligent," is painfully vague, considering how much is depending on it. It were well he should give his whole time and attention to it. But even then he would be unable to judge with exactness when it was accomplished.

"Exactly so!" doubtless the Rev. Dr. Stone would say; "and herein consists the happiness of us who have 'rescued ourselves from the state in which we could not be assured of our own salvation'—that we have the advantage of a divinely authorized priest, with power of binding and loosing, who shall guard us from self-deception and mistake, and certify us with sacramental words that all these uncertain conditions are adequately fulfilled, and assure us, in so many words, that our sins are remitted. O the comfort of this distinct assurance from the Church!—this blessed sacrament of penance!—this second plank after shipwreck!"

Poor man! He has learned by this time that his priest does not undertake to certify him of anything of the sort —that the absolution is pronounced on the *presumption* that his own part of the business has been fully attended to, but that if his contrition or his confession has been defective, that is his own look out, and he must suffer the

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consequences, even be they everlasting perdition. The absolution, in that case does not count at all.[1]

"But," thinks the Rev. Dr. Stone, a little concerned about the assurance of his salvation, "if all the issues of eternal life are to turn on a question of my own conciousness, of which no one is to judge but myself, I do not see how I am so much better off on the point of assurance than when I was a Protestant, and had the distinct, undoubted promise of the Lord Jesus Christ himself of salvation on condition of Repentance and Faith." We feel for the honest man's disappointment, but can only recommend to him, in his present situation, to carry his trouble to his new advisers. The best advice they can give him will perhaps be that which certain other high ecclesiastics, of unquestionable regularity of succession and validity of ordination once gave to a distressed inquirer—"What is that to us? see thou to that!"

It begins to look extremely doubtful whether we shall be able to get the Rev. James Kent Stone to heaven at

1. "As the Church may sometimes err with respect to persons, it may happen that such an one who shall have been loosed in the eyes of the Church, may be bound before God, and that he whom the Church shall have bound may be loosed when he shall appear before Him who knoweth all things." Pope Innocent III., Epistle ii., quoted in Bungener's History of the Council of Trent. We beg pardon for citing the language of a pope as authority, since it is recognized on all hands that hardly anything is more unauthorized and fallible than the sayings of a pope, excepting only on those occasions when he speaks *ex cathedra*, —and precisely when that is, no mortal can tell with certainty.

Let us try what a cardinal will say: "Without a deep and earnest grief, and a determination not to sin again, no absolution of the priest has the slightest worth or avail in the sight of God; on the contrary, any one who asks or obtains absolution, without that sorrow, instead of thereby obtaining forgiveness of his sins, commits an enormous sacrilege, and adds to the weight of his guilt, and goes away from the feet of his confessor, still more heavily laden than when he approached him.—Wiseman on the Doctrines of the Church, vol. ii., p. 10.

There would seem to be nearly the same amount and quality of comfort for tender consciences, and "assurance of salvation" here, as may be found (for example) in "Edwards on the Affections."

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all, on this course, notwithstanding he has come so far out of his way to make absolutely sure of it. But supposing all these difficulties obviated, and that by a special revelation (it is impossible to conceive of any other means of coming at it) he discovers that his baptism, and contrition and confession are all right, and furthermore that the priest has had the necessary "intention" in pronouncing the absolution, and supposing a number of other uncertainties incident to this way of salvation, but which we have no time to attend to, to be entirely obviated, how happy he must be, *post tot discrimina tutus*, assured of the forgiveness of all his sins, and how delightful the prospect set before him!

"Sweet fields arrayed in living green,
And rivers of delight!"

Alas, no! If the Rev. Dr. Stone has any such idea as this, it is only a remnant of the crude notions which he picked up in the days of his heresy, by the private interpretation of the Scriptures. Let him now understand that it is damnable error to hold "that when God forgives sins he always remits the whole punishment of them."[1] The *eternal* punishment, indeed, is remitted; but the temporal punishment which remains to be executed may reach so far into the world to come that it is impossible to predict the end of it. In fact the characteristic vagueness in which all the most important matters that pertain to one's salvation are studiously involved in the Roman Catholic Church is remarkably illustrated in this matter of purgatorial torment. The *nature* of it is doubtful. The majority of theologians hold that it is effected by means of literal, material fire—but that is only "a pious opinion," and will

1. Concil. Trident. Sess. xiv., Can. 12. See also Sess. vi., can. 30.

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not be known for certain until the next time the Pope speaks "out of his chair." The *degree* of it is doubtful. St. Thomas Aquinas thinks that it exceeds any pain known in his life; Bonaventura and Bellarmine guess that the greatest pains in purgatory are greater than the greatest in this world; but they are inclined to think that the least of the pains is not greater than the greatest in this world.[1] But the *duration* of purgatorial torment is the most uncertain thing of all. Some think it will last only a little while; others that it will endure for years and ages. The Church either don't know or won't tell. The most distinctly settled thing about the whole business seems to be this: that no one was ever yet known to be delivered from purgatory so long as there was any more money to be got out of his family by keeping him in.

Is it not, now, rather a rough disappointment to a man who has done so much, and travelled so far, on the promise of a clear and "assured" view of his future happiness, to bring him through all those perils to the top of his Mount Pisgah, and bid him look off on a——lake of fire and brimstone? We put it to the pope, in behalf of our deceived and injured fellow citizen—is it the fair thing?

Well, after all, ten thousand years of purgatory, more or less, will not so much matter to our friend, so long as he is "assured of his own salvation" from eternal perdition. Ay; there's the rub. He is not assured. Supposing it is all right thus far, with his baptism and confirmation and penance (and we have not stated a half of the difficulties of this supposition) he is now indeed in a state of grace, and all his sins are forgiven, albeit part of the

1. Dens, De Purgatorio.

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punishment of them is liable still to be inflicted, in purgatory. If he dies now, happy man! for (always *supposing* as above) he is sure of being saved, sooner or later. But he has no certainty of remaining in this state of grace for an hour. And the Church (kind mother!) has provided for the security of her children by other sacraments, notably by the sacrament of the Eucharist. Dr. Stone had undoubtedly, in his heretic days, read the sixth chapter of John, with the query, What if the Roman interpretation of these promises is the true one, and in order to have eternal life, I am required to eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of man, literally, in the transubstantiated bread and wine; and he now recalls the Lord's promise, "if any man eat of this bread he shall live forever?"[1]—"Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life;"[2] and he finds no small comfort in it. It is not pleasant to discover, indeed, that the Church, even granting the interpretation of the passage, declares it of none effect, giving it to be understood that thousands upon thousands have eaten the veritable "body and blood, soul and divinity" of the Lord, and gone nevertheless into eternal death. But yet your "anxious inquirer" does seem to come nearer now to what he was looking for—a sacrament that shall do its saving work on him independently of the presence of that, the necessity of which casts such a doubt on all Protestant hopes,—faith on the part of the partaker. This is the satisfaction of the doctrine of the *opus operatum*, that it makes the saving virtue of the sacrament to depend, not on what it is so difficult for the recipient to ascertain—his own

1. John vi., 51, also 58.
2. *Ibid.*, vi., 54.

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faith; but on what it is absolutely impossible for him to ascertain—the intention of the priest. And not this alone. Before the priest, even with the best of intentions, has any power to consecrate the bread, and transform it into "the body and blood, soul and divinity" of the Lord, he must have been ordained by a bishop who should, at the time of ordaining, have had "the intention of doing what the Church does," and who in turn should have been ordained with a good intention by another bishop with a good attention, and so on *ad infinitum*, or at least *ad Petrum*. And when we bear in mind that the validity of the *baptism* of each of these depends just as absolutely on so many unknown and unknowable "intentions," and that in case of the invalidity of their baptism, which is "the gate of the sacraments," they were incapable of receiving ordination themselves, and so incapable of conferring it, the chance of poor Dr. Stone's ever getting a morsel of genuine, certainly attested "body and blood, soul and divinity" between his lips, becomes, to a mathematical mind, infinitesimal. There have been cases of ecclesiastics who in their death-bed confessions have acknowledged the withholding of multitudes of "intentions." Who can guess what multitudes besides have been withheld with never a confession, or with a confession which has never been heard of. But the wilful withholding need not be supposed. "The smallest mistake, even though made involuntarily, nullifies the whole act."[1]

1. Pope Innocent III., Ep. ix. "The Council of Florence had pronounced the same opinion. . . . Let an infidel or a dreamy priest baptize a child without having seriously the idea of baptizing it, that child, if it die, is lost; let a bishop ordain a priest, without having actually and formally, from absence of mind or any other cause, the idea of conferring the priesthood, and behold, we have a

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The hope of salvation through the sacraments of the Church grows dimmer and dimmer. It is well for our neophyte to cast about him and see if there be found no adjuvants that may reinforce in some measure that "assurance of his salvation," to which the Holy Father has somewhat inconsiderately invited him." "It is a good and useful thing," says the Council of Trent, "suppliantly to invoke the saints, and . . . to flee for refuge to their prayers, help and assistance." It is commonly represented to Protestants that this is a mere recommendation, and that nobody is *required* to invoke the saints; but Dr. Stone has by this time been long

priest who is not a priest, and those whom he shall baptize, marry or absolve, will not be baptized, married or absolved. The pope himself without suspecting it, might have been ordained in this manner; and as it is from him that everything flows, all the bishops of the Church might some day find themselves to be false bishops, and all the priests false priests, without there being any possibility of restoring the broken link" Bungener, Hist. of the Council of Trent, pp. 158, 159. The author evidently mistakes in making the validity of *baptism* to depend on priestly ordination. That alone of the sacraments is valid if administered (with intention) by a "Jew, pagan, or heretic."

Bungener need not have put the case hypothetically. Writing at the period of the great Western Schism, "the papal secretary, Coluccio Salutato, paints in strong colors the universal uncertainty and anguish of conscience produced by the schism, and his own conclusion as a Papalist is that as all ecclesiastical jurisdiction is derived from the pope, and as a pope invalidly elected cannot give what he does not himself possess, no bishops or priests ordained since the death of Gregory XI. could guarantee the validity of the sacraments they administered. It followed according to him, that any one who adored the eucharist, consecrated by a priest ordained in schism, worshipped an idol. Such was the condition of Western Christendom."—*The Pope and the Council*, by Janus, p. 240

It is, doubtless, with reference to difficulties like these that saving clauses are introduced into the utterances of the Church:—"Without the sacraments *or the desire* for them;" "if any man *wilfully* separate from the communion of the Holy See," &c. But if these clauses save the difficulties of the Church's doctrine, then they destroy the doctrine itself. If the good intentions of the penitent are what secure to him the grace of the sacraments, then that grace does not depend on the intention of the priest; and the provision which so many souls are yearning for, of a through ticket to heaven that does not depend on their own interior character, is miserably cut off.

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enough under discipline to have found out that that is nothing but a polite pretence, and to be convinced that if there is anything to be gained by saint-worship, he had better be about it, for "help and assistance" are what he is sadly in need of. But which of the saints shall he take refuge to?—for there is an *embarras de richesses* here. As to some of them, there is a serious and painful uncertainty, as in the case of Mrs. Harris, as to whether there is "any sich a person." As to others, there is strong human probability that, in the "unpleasantness" that prevailed between heathen and Christian in the early times, they were on the wrong side. And in general, the Church fails to give certain assurance, as *de fide*, concerning them, that they are yet in a position to act effectively as intercessors—whether, in fact, they are not to this day roasting in purgatory, and in sorer need of our intercession than we of theirs. The Church, we say, has not pronounced assuredly and *de fide* on this point; and what Dr. Stone is invited to by the Holy Father, and what doubtless he means to get, is assurance, not "pious opinion."

It will be "*safer*" for Dr. Stone "to seek the salvation through the Virgin Mary than directly from Jesus." So at least he is taught in books authorized and indorsed by the Church. But this is a very slender gain, for the same books assure him that without the intercession of Mary there is no safety at all—that "the intercession is not only useful but necessary"—that "to no one is the door of salvation open except through her"—that "our salvation is in her hands"—that "Mary is all the hope of our salvation;"[1] so that the amount of this assurance (if

1. See "The Glories of Mary," by St. Alphonsus Liguori, approved by †John,

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one could be assured of its authority) is only this, that it it is better than nothing at all.

Undoubtedly, the Rev. Dr. Stone would do well to get him a scapular. "About the year 1251, the Holy Virgin appeared to the blessed St. Simon Stock, an Englishman, and giving him her scapular, said to him that those who wore it should be safe from eternal damnation." Furthermore, "Mary appeared at another time to Pope John XXII., and directed him to declare to those who wore the above-mentioned scapular, that they should be released from purgatory on the Saturday after death; this the same pontiff announced in his bull, which was afterwards confirmed by "several other popes."[1] This, declared in a book which is guaranteed by a pope to contain no false doctrine, is really the nearest that we can find in the entire Roman system to an assurance of salvation. But to the utter dismay of poor Dr. Stone, just as he is on the point of closing his hand on what the pope had invited him to,—"laying hold," as an old writer expresses it, "on eternal life" in the form of a scapular, —he discovers not only that Pope Paul V., in 1612, added a sort of codicil to the Virgin's promise, which makes it of doubtful value, but in general, that the

Archbishop of New York; chapter v., on "the need we have of the intercession of Mary for our salvation." It has been certified by the pope in the act of canonization that the writings of St. Alphonsus contain nothing worthy of censure. But as it is, up to this present writing, impossible to say certainly whether this was one of the pope's infallible utterances or one of his fallible ones—there we are again, in an uncertainty.

For a full collection of authorized Roman Catholic teachings, to the effect that "it is impossible for any to be saved who turns away from Mary, or is disregarded by her," see Pusey's Eirenicon, pp. 99, seqq.—bearing in mind, however, the claim of the defenders of the Roman Catholic system, that their Church is not to be considered responsible for its own authorized teachings.

1. Glories of Mary, pp. 271, 272, 660.

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inerrant author of the Glories of Mary "protests that he does not intend to attribute any other than purely human authority to all the miracles, revelations and incidents contained in this book."[1] But "purely human authority" is not exactly what we care to risk our everlasting salvation on; is it, Dr. Stone?

Nothing seems to remain for our bewildered friend, but to apply for indulgences. To be sure he does not yet know that he has ever been effectually loosed from mortal sin, or if he has been, that he will not relapse into it and die in it; and in either case indulgences will do him no good. He will go down quick into hell—and not get his money back either. But supposing him to have escaped eternal perdition, it will be well worth while to have secured indulgences,—which may be had of assorted lengths, from twenty-five day indulgences for "naming reverently the name of Jesus or the name of Mary," up to twenty-five thousand and thirty-thousand year indulgences, granted for weightier consideration. But inasmuch as Dr. Stone has not the slightest idea how many millions of years he may have to stay in purgatory, if he ever has the happiness to get there, it will be best for him to go in for plenary indulgences, and save all mistakes. There are various ways of securing them; and it may well employ all Dr. Stone's unquestionable talents to decide how he shall get the amplest indulgence at the least cost of time and labor. On a superficial examination, we are disposed to think that there is nothing better to recommend than the wearing of scapulars. Says St. Alphonsus de Liguori: "The indulgences that are attached to this scapular of our Lady of Mt. Carmel, as well as to the others of the Dolors

1. Glories of Mary, Protest of the author, p. 4.

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of Mary, of Mary of Mercy, and particularly to that of the Conception, are innumerable, daily, and plenary, in life and at the article of death. For myself, I have taken *all* the above scapulars. And let it be particularly made known that besides many particular indulgences, there are annexed to the scapular of the Immaculate Conception, which is blessed by the Theatine Fathers, all the indulgences which are granted to any religious order, pious place or person. And particularly by reciting 'Our Father,' 'Hail Mary,' and 'Glory be to the Father,' six times in honor of the most holy Trinity and of the immaculate Mary, are gained each time all the indulgences of Rome, Portiuncula, Jerusalem, Gallicia, which reach the number of four hundred and thirty-three plenary indulgences, besides the temporal, which are innumerable. All this is transcribed from a sheet printed by the same Theatine Fathers."[1] O if the Theatine Fathers were only infallible, or if we could be sure that indulgences were absolute and not conditional upon sundry uncertainties, how happy we might be! But a great theologian, afterward a pope,[2] declared that "the effects of the indulgence purchased or acquired, are not absolute, but more or less good, more or less complete, according to the dispositions of the penitent, and the manner in which he performs the work to which the indulgence is attached." And one has only to glance through the pages of some approved theologian, like Dr. Peter Dens, to find that this whole doctrines of indulgences is so contrived as to be, on the one hand, indefinitely corrupting and depraving to the

1. Glories of Mary, p. 661.

2. Pope Adrian VI., Comm. on the Fourth Book of *The Sentences*, quoted by Bungener, Council of Trent, p. 4.

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common crowd of sinners, and on the other hand to give the least possible of solid comfort to fearful consciences. With every promise of remission that the Church gives—for a consideration—she reserves to herself a dozen qualifications and evasions, which make it of none effect.[1]

In the dismal uncertainty which besets every expedient for securing one's salvation which we have thus far considered, our friend will devote himself in sheer desperation to works of mortification, which are alleged by his advisers to have a good tendency to "appease the wrath of God." Fastings and abstinences are good; but a hair shirt is far more effective, if his skin is tender; and we cannot doubt that flagellation is more serviceable than either. A good scourge is not expensive, but it should have bits of wire in the lashes for a more rapid diminution of purgatorial pains. Sundry contrivances applied to one's bed, or to the soles of one's shoes, are recommended by the experience of some eminent saints, as of great efficacy in securing one against future torment. It would not be well for Dr. Stone, in his quest for assurance, to omit any of them. But alas! when he has done all, he is in the same dreary, dismal darkness as before.

Through such dim and doubtful ways the poor Doctor treads halting and hesitating till he comes toward the end of this weary life. Of all his friends who have departed

1. Dens, Tractat. de Indulg. passim. Notab. 34, 37, 38, 39. Says Cardinal Wiseman: 'For you, my Catholic brethren, know, that without a penitent confession of your sins, and the worthy participation of the blessed Eucharist, no indulgence is anything worth." *Doctrines of the Church*, vol. ii, p. 76. This, however, is said in a course of Lectures designed to commend the doctrines of the Church to Protestants; when the object has been to comfort the devotee, or to raise revenue for the Roman treasury, the tone of the authorized representatives of the Church has sometimes been far more assuring.

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this life before him, he has no confident assurance that they are not in hell; but he cherishes a hope that they may be roasting in the fires of purgatory, though he is aware that there is even a faint chance that they may be in heaven; but he pays for daily masses and indulgences in their behalf, being assured by theologians that if these do not help his friends, they may in all probability be of service to some on else.[1] The nearest to certainty that he comes, on any such question, is in the belief that his godly parents and friends that have lived and died in simple faith on the Lord Jesus Christ, are suffering everlasting damnation—and even this is doubtful. As the hour of death draws near, he feels for his various scapulars, and finds them right, he sends for his confessor, and makes one more confession which is subject to all the doubtful conditions of those that have gone before, receives once more an absolution which is absolute in its terms, but conditional in its meaning, and receives the half of a eucharist the efficiency of which depends on an uncertain combination of conditions in his own soul and history complicated with an utterly unascertainable series of facts in the hidden intention of every one of a series of priests and bishops back to Simon Peter himself. This done, the church approaches him with a final sacrament which promises once more to do what it thereby acknowledges that the other sacraments have failed to accomplish—to "wipe away offenses, if any remain, and the remains of sin"—to "confer grace and remit sins."[2] But it is entirely unsettled among theologians what this promise means. It cannot be the remitting of mortal sin, for if the penitent

1 Dens. Tract. de Indulg. No. 40.

2. Conc. Trid., Sess. xiv., Can. 2.

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have any such unforgiven, he is not allowed to receive the unction; and it cannot refer to venial sins for a good many reasons that are laid down; and it cannot mean "proneness or habit left from past sin," for "it often happens that they who recover after the sacrament feel the same proneness to sin as before."[1] In fact, at the conclusion of the sacrament, Dr. Stone will send for his lawyer, and if any thing remains of his property after his heavy expenditure in masses and indulgences for the benefit of his deceased friends, he will leave it by will to be given for masses to shorten up the torments which after all these labors and prayers to Mary, and mortifications, and sacraments, he still perceives to be inevitable.[2] But even in this, he bethinks himself of the uncertainty whether masses paid for in advance will ever be actually said or sung.[3] But, poor soul, it is the best he can do,

1. Bellarmine, De Extr. Unct. i. 9, T. ii., p. 1198. 9. Quoted in Pusey's Eirenicon, 209-211.

2. A most striking instance of this is recorded in one of the most interesting and recent records of Roman Catholic piety—the Life of the Curé d'Ars. The old curé of Ars, had lived a life of preëminent holiness, in which his acts of self mortification had been so austere and cruel as to have broken down his health—such that others could not hear them described without a shudder. As his death drew near, he "desired to be fortified by the grace of the last sacraments;" and the Abbé Vianney then heard his confession, and administered to him the last rites of the Church. . . . . The following day the Abbé Vianney celebrated a mass for his revered master, at which all the villagers were present. When this service was concluded, M. Balley requested a private interview with his vicar. During this last and solemn conversation, the dying man placed in his hands the instruments of his penitence [scourges, &c.] 'Take care my poor Vianney,' he said, 'to hide these things; if they find them after my death they will think I have done something during my life for the expiation of my sins, and they will *leave me in Purgatory to the end of the world.*'" *The Curé d'Ars:* A Memoir of Jean-Baptiste-Marie Vianney. By Georgina Molyneux. London: 1869.

3. There will hardly fail to occur to him the scandalous *cause cĕlĕbre* tried a few months since, in Paris,—the case of a large brokerage in masses for the dead which undertook to get the masses performed by country priests at a lower

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and so he gets them to give him a blessed taper to hold, and gives up the ghost while it burns out, and they sprinkle his body with holy water and bury it in consecrated ground to keep it safe from the demons, and his children give their money to get him out of purgatory (in case he is there) and down to the latest generation never know (unless their money gives out) whether they have succeeded, or whether in fact he has not all the while been hopelessly in hell along with his good old father and mother.

We cannot better wind up this exhibition of the way in which the church of Rome fulfils her promise of giving assurance of salvation, than by quoting the language of a most competent witness, the Rev. J. Blanco White, once a Roman Catholic theologian in high standing in Spain, afterwards a Protestant, whose trustworthiness is vouched for by Father Newman, from intimate personal acquaintance.[1] Mr. White says:

"The Catholic who firmly believes in the absolving power of his church, and *never indulges in thought*, easily allays all fears connected with the invisible world. Is there a priest at hand to bestow absolution at the last moment of life, he is sure of a place in Heaven, however sharp the burnings may be which are appointed for him in Purgatory.

"But alas, for the sensitive, the consistent, the delicate mind that takes the infallible church for its refuge! That church *offers* indeed certainty in every thing that concerns our souls; but, Thou, God, who hast witnessed my misery and that of my nearest

figure than the ruling city prices, but was detected in retaining the money without securing the saying of the masses at all.

1. "I have the fullest confidence in his word when he witnesses to facts, and facts which he knew." He was one "who had special means of knowing a Catholic country, and a man you can trust." *Lectures on the present Position of Catholics in England*, by John Henry Newman, D.D. 1851.

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relations—my mother and my two sisters, knowest that the promised certainty is a bitter mockery. *The Catholic pledges of spiritual safety are the most agonizing sources of doubt.*"

"The Sacraments intended for pardon of sins could not (according to the common notions) fail in producing the desired effect. For, if, as was subsequently given out, all those divinely-instituted Rites demanded such a spiritual state in the recipient, as without any external addition would produce the desired effect, what advantage would be offered to the believer? If absolution demanded true repentance to deliver from sin, this was leaving the sinner exactly in the same condition as he was in before even the name of the pretended Sacrament of Penance was heard of in the world. But if these conditions alone can give security, no thinking person, and especially no anxious, timid person, can find certainty in the use of the Sacraments. And none but the naturally bold and confident do find it. To these, the Sacraments, instead of being means of virtue, are encouragements of vice and iniquity.

"O God! if Thou couldst hate any thing thou hast made, what weight of indignation would have fallen upon a Constantine, and an Alva! And yet the former having put off baptism till the last opportunity of sinning should be on the point of vanishing with the last breath of life, declares the heavenly happiness which filled his soul from the moment he came out of the baptismal water: the latter, that cold-blooded butcher of thousands, declares that he dies without the least remorse. On the other hand, have I not seen the most innocent among Thy worshippers live and die in a maddening fear of Hell! They trembled at the Sacraments themselves, lest, from want of a fit preparation, they should increase their spiritual danger."[1]

It might be very tedious to read, but it would certainly be very easy to present, like proofs to show that in "heeding the invitation" of the pope to come to him for infallible teaching in matters of *belief*, Dr. Stone has come only to like grief and anxious uncertainty. He has stated

1. Life of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White, written by himself. Edited by John Hamilton Thom. London: 1845. Vol. III., pp. 256-258.

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very neatly the fallacy of those who have sought for an infallible interpreter of Scripture in the writings of the Fathers. "They do not see that in place of acting upon a new rule, they have only increased the difficulties of the old; that instead of obtaining an interpreter, they have only multiplied the number of the documents which they must themselves interpret or have interpreted for them;" and "are in fact resorting to what has been aptly called 'the most ingenious of all Protestant contrivances for submitting to nothing and nobody.'"[1] Marvellous! that a man who is so shrewd to perceive this fallacy in the system he has just left, should be so blind to the same fallacy in the system he has just adopted! He had

——"jumped into a bramble bush
And scratched out both his eyes;

"And when he saw his eyes were out,
With all his might and main,
He jumped into *another* bush
To scratch them in again."

By just so far as his new teacher is infallible, it is simply documentary—paper and printer's ink—Fathers, Councils, Bulls, Briefs, more Bulls, more Briefs, and another Council again, documents upon documents, all in the Latin tongue (which, happily, Dr. Stone is able to read) until the world cannot hold the books that have been written. But, on the other hand, just so far as he has access to his new teacher as a *living* teacher—a representative of the Catholic hierarchy—he finds him confessedly fallible—an uninspired priest or bishop, likely enough an unconvicted heretic, and at least liable,

1. The Invitation Heeded, pp. 158, 159.

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to all human blunders and endless "variations" in expounding and applying the faith of the church. If, disgusted with these miserable comforters, he carries his doubts to the apostolic threshold, and receives a solution of them from the successor of Peter himself; it is a poor reward for his pilgrimage when he learns that the words of the Pontiff spoken in his capacity as a private teacher are no more infallible than those of any Protestant minister. So that the certainty of poor Dr. Stone's faith, unless he chooses the alternate risk of going to the documents himself and taking his chance of being "saved by scholarship," or by "private interpretation," is resolved into the mere "*fides implicita*,"—of being willing to believe the truth if he only knew what it was—and *that*, if we understand him, is just what he had before he got the Pope's letter, with the exception that at that time there were fewer elements of uncertainty in his mind.

And just as with questions of truth, so is it with questions of duty. In search of definiteness and certainty he has gone voyaging upon a waste of dreary casuitry, upon whose fluctuating surface he lies becalmed, tossed to and fro between "probabilism" and "probabiliorism," and O, how sea-sick! There is nothing for him but to "do as they do in Spain;" and how that is we learn from Father Newman's friend, Blanco White:

"In a country where every person's conscience is in the keeping of another, in an interminable succession of moral trusts, the individual conscience cannot be under the steady discipline of self-governing principle; all that is practised is *obedience* to the opinions of others, and even that obedience is inseparably connected with the idea of a dispensing power. If you can obtain an opinion favorable to your wishes, the responsibility falls on the adviser, and you may enjoy yourself with safety. The adviser, on the

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other hand, having no consciousness of the action, has no sense of remorse; and thus the whole morality of the country, except in very peculiar cases, wants the steady ground of individual responsibility."[1]

The sum of the whole matter seems to be this: that the certainty and confidence of the disciple of the Church of Rome, whether regarding matter of belief or matter of practice, consists in putting his head in a bag, and giving the string to his confessor.

The "invitation heeded" by Dr. Stone contains other seductive promises which it would be well for us to consider, if there were time. We can only allude, with a word, to the excellent things which his Holiness offers, in this invitation, to society and government in Protestant countries, in pity of the misfortunes under which he perceives them now to be suffering.

"Whoever recognizes religion as the foundation of human society cannot but perceive and acknowledge what disastrous effect this division of principles, this opposition, this strife of religious sects among themselves, has had upon civil society, and how powerfully this denial of the authority established by God to determine the belief of the human mind, and to direct the actions of men as well in private as in social life, has excited, spread, and fostered those deplorable upheavals, those commotions by which almost all peoples are grievously disturbed and afflicted." "On this longed for return to the truth and unity of the Catholic church depends the salvation not only of individuals, but also of all Christian society; and never can the world enjoy true peace, unless there shall be one Fold and one Shepherd."[2]

We see here the value of an infallible teacher! If it had not been revealed to us thus from heaven, we never

1. Life of J. Blanco White, I., p. 33.
2. Letter of Pope Pius IX., Sept. 13th, 1868.

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should have guessed that what secured national tranquillity was national adherence to the Holy See. But now we see it—by the eye of faith. Poor England, racked with intestine commotions!—if she could but learn the secret of Spanish order and tranquillity and prosperity! Unhappy Scotland, the prey of social anarchy, and devoured by thriftless indolence! Will she not cast one glance across the sea, and lay to heart the lesson of Irish serenity and peace and wealth? Poor Protestant Prussia, and Denmark, and Scandinavia "grievously disturbed and afflicted" by "those deplorable upheavals and commotions" which his Holiness talks about, and yet so pitifully unconscious of them all! How slight the price,—a mere "Fall down and worship me"—with which they might purchase to themselves the sweet calmness and good order and unbroken quiet that have characterized the history of Catholic France and Italy, and even the ineffable beatitude of those happy States of the Church, which, ungrateful for their unparalleled blessings, have been waiting for twenty years for a good chance to put the pope (in his temporal capacity) into the Tiber! Nay, nay! Let us not refuse to bring home the teaching of our Shepherd to our own bosoms. What land has been more the victim of "this division of principles, this opposition, this strife of religious sects among themselves," than our own unhappy country? Ah! were the people wise! Do they not feel the "disastrous effects" of their refusal to submit to the Holy See—the "deplorable upheavals and commotions," and all? Can they resist the allurements of those examples of national happiness which fill the whole Western Hemisphere, save the two pitiable exceptions of Canada and the United States? Speak, dear

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Dr. Stone, speak once more to your infatuated fellow countrymen, and persuade them, if you can, to end this hundred years' history of commotion and revolution and disastrous change which they have nearly completed, by substituting the majestic stability of Mexico, and Guatemala and Colombia, and all the Catholic continent down to the Straits of Magellan![1] Already a ray of hope shines in upon the darkness of the Protestant land. One bright spot is irradiated with the triumph—the partial triumph—of Roman principles of government. Can it be irrational to hope that when these principles prevail in the same degree throughout the land, we shall have everywhere, under State and general governments, the same placid order, the same security for life and property, the same freedom from turbulence and riot, the same purity of elections, the same integrity in the discharge of public trusts, the same awfulness of judicial virtue, as prevail in the Catholic city and county of New York?

We have left ourselves very little space to express as we would like the real respect which, after all, we feel for this book, and still more for this author. With here

1. Father Hyacinthe does not seem to come up to the standard of Roman doctrine on this point. "Ah, well I know—and many a time have I groaned within myself to think of it—these nations of the Latin race and of the Catholic religion have been of late the most grievously tried of all! Not only by intestine fires, by the quaking of the earth, by the inrushing of the sea. Look with impartial eye, with the fearless serenity of truth, with that assurance of faith which fears not to accept the revelations of experience, and then tell me—where it is that the moral foundations quake most violently? Where does the current of a formidable electricity give the severest, the most incessant shocks to republics as well as monarchies? Among the Latin races; *among the Catholic nations.* Yes, by some inscrutable design of Providence, they, more than others, have had to 'drink of the cup deep and large;' they have wet their lips more deeply in the chalice in which are mingled 'the wine, the lightning, and the spirit of the storm;' and they have become possessed with the madness of the drunkard." Discourses of Father Hyacinthe, Vol. I., p. 155.

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and there a slip in grammar or diction, and with no more of pedantry than can easily be pardoned to the author's vocation, the work is beautifully written; and if there does seem to be a dreadful gap between what the author intended when he started, and what he found where he stopped, it must be acknowledged that he passed from starting point to goal with consecutive steps along an intelligible path. His argument, although encumbered with mistakes, is, nevertheless, good against any opponent who accepts his premiss,—that the Church Universal is a visible corporation. His appeal to all Protestants to examine with candor the grounds of their belief, and bravely and sincerely accept the consequences, is earnest, tender and touching—all the more so, as the unhappy author in his very exhortation, evidently looks back upon those generous moments when he himself was practising these virtues, as Adam might have looked back upon Paradise. Those hours can never return. Never more may he exercise the manly virtue which he now commends to others, and which we doubt not he faithfully practised until it became a prohibited good. Let him *now* attempt to look into the writings of those who differ from him, with a view to "examining candidly the grounds of his faith," and the thunderbolt of the excommunication *latæ sententiæ* breaks forth upon him from the Bull *In Cœna Domini.*[1] We are so affected by the honest Doctor's exhortation to candid inquiry, that we shrink from putting ourselves, like him, in a situation in which if we candidly inquire we are damned.

The little volume will reasonably be expected to be more effective as a fact and a testimony than as an

1. Ligorii Theol. Moral. 63, 735.

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argument. As a testimony, its precise value is this: Until two years ago, the author, believing himself to be entirely sincere and candid, held, as the result of private judgment, a system (according to his own statement) wildly inconsistent, illogical and self-destructive, which he vindicated to himself and others by arguments plausible and satisfactory. Within two years, after candid but astonishingly brief examination, in the exercise of the same private judgment, he has dropped that system and adopted another, also with entire sincerity, and vindicated by plausible arguments, which he is not permitted candidly to re-examine. It is solely by the use of the same private judgment that played him so false before, that he has come to embrace this other system.

Qu.:—What is the probability that he has got the truth now?

This is what he may never know.

One thing alone he holds intelligently—that the Roman church is the true church of Christ; and this he knows only by his poor private judgment, which he is not permitted to revise. Every thing else he takes on the authority of this. And this, being known only by private judgment, may be a mistake!

Poor man!

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VIII.

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND.*

Switzerland may be called the Palestine of modern geography. It bears relations to the great powers of contemporary civilization, in some respects, even more remarkable than those which the little strip of soil along the Jordan, at the meeting of three continents, bore to the civilizations of antiquity. Like that of Palestine, its situation, while affording it small temptation to aggression upon its neighbors, is supremely advantageous for defense, for isolation from foreign influence, and yet at the same time for the exercise of effective influence outward upon other nations. To these advantages, it adds another in its polyglot facility of communication with the most important nations of

1. From the *International Review* for July, 1874.

La Question Catholique à Genève, de 1815 à 1873. Exposé Historique. Par Amédée Roget. Geneva, 1874.

La Liberté Religieuse et les Evènements de Genève, 1815-1873. Par A. de Richecour, docteur en droit, avocat à la Cour de Paris. Paris, 1873.

La Liturgie de l'Eglise Catholique de Genève, à l'usage des fidèles. Geneva, 1873.

De la Réforme Catholique. Par le Père Hyacinthe. Paris, 1872.

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Europe. That long-persistent division of the Swiss people into German, French, and Italian, necessitating the trilingual publication of the Federal laws, which stands in such striking contrast, on the one hand, with the thorough unity of the nation, and on the other hand, with the rapid assimilation and extinction of diverse languages in the American republic, opens "an effectual door of utterance" for the nation toward its neighbors on every side. There is something of history, but still more of prophecy, written in the very map of Switzerland. It is a land of yet unfulfilled destiny. The eye traces its great watercourses into the most important lands of civilized Europe, and recognizes the lines down which potent influences, social and religious, are to descend.

If Switzerland is the Palestine of Europe, the Jerusalem of Switzerland is Geneva. "The theological city," as it has been called by one of its famous historians, seems to be pervaded by an endemic influence, inciting to religious discussion and agitation. The eager, irrepressible spirit of John Calvin walks abroad from his unknown sepulchre as the *genius loci*. That austere and melancholic soul ought to find comfort for the wide apostasy of Geneva from the doctrines which he taught, and those grim lineaments to relax a little upon the canvas, in view of the renewal of his own story after a lapse of ten generations. It seems like the running-title of a Life of Calvin, when we propose to sketch the story of a religious reformation from the Roman Catholic Church, incited by the growth of abuses at Rome, inaugurated in the Catholic universities of Germany, transplanted for a completer and more vigorous growth into the soil of Geneva, and there, under the guidance of an exiled Frenchman, taking on the logical,

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consistent, and organized form by which it becomes fitted for wide propagation and success. If a movement, which shows in its early stages such curious points of undesigned coincidence with the great Reformation of the sixteenth century, should by-and-by be developed in like proportions, an INTERNATIONAL REVIEW could not excuse itself for having neglected the opening scenes of the play on account of the narrowness of the stage on which they were produced.

In attempting a sketch of the ecclesiastical and religious changes of the last twelve months in Switzerland, there is every reason for narrowing the field of view in general to the little Canton of Geneva, turning aside, from time to time, to remark the like movements, parallel or divergent, in other States of the Confederation.

The Catholic Reformation is constituted of two very distinct factors—the religious and political—neither of which, in the actual circumstances, could have amounted to much without the other. The managers of the Vatican Council had counted not unreasonably on the power of hierarchical organization, reinforced by a certain amount of intelligent theological conviction (which Protestant observers are little disposed to recognize) in some of the clergy, and by the fanaticism of the devout fraction of the laity, to bear down, in the long run, either the anger of the governments and peoples, irritated by the exaltation of the Syllabus of 1864 to a level with the canonical Scriptures, or the protests against false doctrine which might emanate from the Catholic universities, or from individual consciences among the priesthood or the instructed laity. They could bow their heads for the storm of political indignation to blow over; or they might

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wait, with a confidence warranted by repeated experience, for the reaction of the individual intellect and conscience to work itself off in the shape of sundry secessions to Protestantism, of here and there a local schism, or of an uncertain increment to the vast but indefinite multitude, prevailing in every Catholic country, of defunct priests and indifferentist laymen.

In fact, for a long time after the suspension of the Vatican Council, affairs seemed to march much according to this programme. However disastrous the outbreak of war may have been, in some of its results, to the Roman Curia, it is questionable whether, in the occupation which it afforded, at that juncture, to monarchs, cabinets, and parliaments, it did not yield a clear balance of advantage in their favor. Certainly the political after-clap of the Council seemed to have been averted. As for the moral and religious revolt that had been anticipated, few signs of it appeared except in Germany, and there it was and still continues to be a movement of the universities rather than of the clergy or people. In France, the splendid little party of Liberal Ultramontanes[1] was extinguished.

1. No mistake can be more misleading than to suppose that the French Liberal Catholic party of a few years ago—the party of *Le Correspondant*—was the representative of *Gallican* principles. On the contrary, the brief career of his party was a brave, earnest, and dashing, but utterly futile attempt to combine Ultramontane notions in religious matters with broadly liberal views in politics. The "struggle for existence" within the Church which this party made was gallant, but no completer failure is recorded in history. The famous bull *Quanta Cura*, and some parts of the Syllabus, are not to be understood without some knowledge of the Liberal Catholic party, at which they were especially aimed. After that blow had fallen, the party began by-and-by to lift up its head again; whereupon the Council of the Vatican gave it the *coup de grace* by erecting those two famous documents into authoritative standards of faith. This was the chief pending practical question settled by the Vatican Council—the question whether a Liberal party was to be tolerated within the Roman Church.

The party, as a party, died instantaneously. Its organ, *Le Correspondant*, submitted to the decree of the Council. The noblest of its leaders, Montalembert,

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In Switzerland, here and there a recalcitrant curé refused his neck to the new yoke, and associations of Liberal Catholics were formed in some of the cities, but no sign indicated that the reaction against the new dogma and its implications would be extensive or permanent. In Geneva, the Old Catholic Association, although embracing a large part of the most respectable and influential of the Catholic laity, led a languishing life, and after a few months seemed ready to vanish away. To all appearance the storm which had been portended was blowing over.

But just now supervened the combination which was most formidable to the Roman power—the combination of religious conviction with political interest and patriotic feeling. To explain this takes us back to the starting-point of all contemporary history—to the Treaties of 1815.

With these treaties, the existence of Roman Catholicism under the government of Protestant Geneva commenced, by the annexation of a considerable tract of Savoyard territory to the little State. The new Catholic population, constituting a little more than one-third of the total population of the enlarged canton, came in under treaty stipulations for protection in their religious rights. They were confessedly inferior in education and intelligence, and although the old Protestant supremacy of the republic took reasonable alarm, feeling itself near its end,

Gratry, Foisset, Cochin, died in rapid succession. Felix Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, *haud felix opportunitate mortis*, survives in open recreancy to his principles, and Messrs. De Falloux and De Broglie have thought better of the vow which, in conjunction with the aforementioned, they registered on a tablet in the chapel at Roche-en-Brenil, to "devote the remainder of their lives to God and liberty." Only one of the brilliant coterie of Liberal Catholics now remains faithful to the principles which they held in common; and him the rest of the survivors are reproaching with recreancy and apostasy!

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nevertheless the new citizens did not, for a long time, attempt to make themselves directly felt in politics. The course of events from that time down on this tiny stage has presented most curious points of resemblance to the exactly contemporaneous history of the great republic across the ocean. The Protestant and Old Genevese jealousy waxed warm in view of the continual growth of the uncongenial Romish population within and around the walls of the city of Calvin. Anti-popery propagandas and lodges were organized, and there was annual exultation over scores—in one year, upward of a hundred at once—of proselytes publicly renouncing in the old cathedral their allegiance to the Pope. But notes of alarm and foreboding blended with these pæans; for notwithstanding large defections, of which the array of public proselytes was but a small proportion, and which were offset by few or no conversions in the other direction, the proportion of the Catholic population continued to grow with formidable rapidity, both in city and in canton. It was to be explained by two constant facts of universal observation: first, that the current of emigration, the world over, generally sets away from Catholic States and toward Protestant ones; second, that the unskilled labor upon great public works generally assembles masses of Catholic rather than Protestant laborers. In 1843, the cantonal census showed, in a population of 61,000, a Protestant majority of only 6,600. In 1860, there was a Catholic majority of 2,000; and in 1870, of more than 5,000. In the city of Geneva there are now about 20,000 Catholics to 25,000 Protestants.

Politicians of course were not idle in view of the large accession of voting material which was supposed to be

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largely affected by religious considerations and clerical influence. Each party did something to conciliate the Catholic vote by grants of land for church buildings, by accommodations of the school system, by bestowals of office, by compliments to the clergy, etc.; and each party denounced the other for such compliances. Meanwhile the clergy grew excessively exacting and insolent. Boasts were publicly made of their expectation to say mass in the old cathedral—the mother-church of the Reformed Churches of the world; and the erection of the magnificent church of *Notre Dame de Genève*—itself, in size and style, a cathedral—upon land given by the State, gave point and prominence to these defiances flung into the face of Protestantism in its ancient stronghold. The clergy now ventured on a conflict with the political authorities of the canton, timing their attack, in their insane over-confidence, to coincide with the reaction among the Catholic laity, against the Vatican decrees.

It was brought about on this wise: By a distinct understanding between the Holy See and the Geneva Government in 1819, this city was to form part of the Diocese of Lausanne, whose bishop sits at Fribourg. The understanding, however, proved to be subject to the disadvantages incident to all contracts, one party to which is sole judge of right and wrong, with unlimited power to give itself dispensations from its promise. In 1864, the clever, ambitious Abbé Mermillod was appointed Curé of Geneva, with the consent of the State, and according to the local usage was appointed, by the bishop at Fribourg, vicar-general of the diocese. Not long after, he receives from the Pope the honorary title of Bishop of Hebron *in partibus infidelium*, and assumes to

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himself, as fast or faster than discretion would permit, the state and functions of Bishop of Geneva. Certain parishes falling vacant, the Government notifies the Bishop of Lausanne of the fact, and invites him to nominate, but is referred to "Bishop Mermillod" as the person to whom the Holy See has committed the affairs of Geneva. On this point the issue is joined—Mermillod refusing to abate his pretensions, and the Government refusing to tolerate them. The Bishop of Lausanne tries to solve the difficulty by formally abdicating the charge of Geneva, and thus shutting up the Government to the choice between Bishop Mermillod, now made vicar apostolic by the Pope, and no bishop at all. The State is not slow in accepting the latter alternative, and enunciates to the people its programme of a new "law for the organization of Catholic worship," by which, according to a precedent which has prevailed from time immémorial in some of the Swiss dioceses, the Catholic parishes themselves should choose their own priests.

Meanwhile, as this contest was coming to its height, the Catholic managers, with astonishing infelicity, took occasion, at a pending election, to express their dissatisfaction with the treatment which they had received from their then allies, by carrying over their vote and adding it (in a sort of coalition curiously common in the history of both sides of the ocean) to the reddest radical democratic party. But by this time, both political parties had grown tired of being played with in this game of fast and loose. The overtures of the "Independents" were accepted by the "Radicals," and the two parties combined to give the clerical party, in November, 1872, one of the most complete and righteous whippings known

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in the history of republican government. Naturally, the war with the insolent and disloyal Mermillod took on a sharper aspect. He treated the Government with open defiance, until, in February, 1873, by an act which went to the extreme boundary of lawful authority, but in the opinion of the highest Swiss authorities did not overstep it, he was put over the frontier of Switzerland and warned not to return. The projected law providing for the election of Catholic pastors by their own flocks was accepted by the people by a tremendous vote, in March, 1873; and so the political part of the revolution was mainly accomplished.

About this time the "Old Catholic" Association of Geneva, which had become nearly defunct, was waked up into lively activity, and resolved boldly to send for that man in the Catholic Church whose name was most abhorred by the Ultramontane clergy, and whose course (especially his marriage) pledged him most irrevocably to open and perpetual war with Rome. Father Hyacinthe arrived at Geneva just about the time of the popular vote upon the Law for the Organization of Catholic Worship. The arrangements for his addressing the public were in the hands of a committee of Catholic laymen, and in the issue of gratuitous tickets of admission to the hall where he was to speak, preference was always given to Catholics who might wish to hear an exposition of the principles of the Catholic Reformation. The necessity of some such precaution had not been miscalculated. The total number of sitting and standing places in the vast room was disposed of within half an hour from the beginning of the distribution. For upward of three thousand tickets there were thirty thousand applications. The impression

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produced by the indescribable eloquence of the great preacher, in this and subsequent discourses, was prodigious. But the power of eloquence has been less illustrated, in the progress of this movement from that time, than the power of a great, sincere, and simple character. Few men have ever been at the same time the object of such deadly hate from their antagonists, and of so warm a personal love from all besides who know them, as Father Hyacinthe. Alongside of his fiery indignation against falsehood, and against timid compliance with falsehood, there was a singular lack of asperity, either of language or of feeling, toward those who were daily tasking their invention for new forms of public abuse of himself and his wife. In contrast with his flat refusal to accept the dogmatic degree, which he held to be a modern falsehood imposed by an enslaved council and episcopate, men marked the child-like faith with which he received every thing which bore, to his view, the mark of an authentic tradition of the Church, and the steadiness with which he refused the slightest compliance toward the great mass of rationalist free-thinkers among the Catholic laity, who were all too ready to applaud him, and whom it was his heart's desire to recover to the Christian faith. It was not strange that under the influence of his inspiring words and example, the Catholic Reform movement in Geneva should take very much the form of a personal following of Hyacinthe.

At the request of the Old Catholics, a temporary chapel was fitted up in the library of the Old College, known as Calvin's Library, and there, in May, 1873, mass was said for the first time in the French language. The protest against new dogmas and hierarchical usurpations grew

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into a positive organized religious power. One or two priests of great dignity of character resigned their livings in French dioceses, in order to join themselves to so hopeful a reform. These have been followed by others in increasing numbers, among whom are men eminent among the French clergy for eloquence and spiritual usefulness in the ministry. The current of these defections seems still to grow, "like the letting out of water."

The first application or the new cantonal law for the election of parish priests was in the city of Geneva, itself, on Sunday, October 12, 1873. The *adoption* of the law was by the vote of the whole body of citizens, but the election under it was to be made by the vote of the Catholic citizens only; and the trial of strength between the two parties, Liberal and Ultramontane, was naturally looked forward to with interest. The policy of abstention was adopted by the Ultramontanes, and the severest spiritual penalties were publicly denounced by their clergy against any Catholic who should dare to vote on either side. It would be easy for them, in case of a light vote (the election being uncontested), to claim as their own all the Catholic votes not actually cast. On the counting of the vote, it appeared that all the votes cast were for Father Hyacinthe and his colleagues, and that they amounted to nearly one-half of the registered Catholic vote of the city—enough to prove that on any actual trial of strength it would be found that a powerful majority of the Catholic citizens had identified themselves with the most advanced reform of abuses in their hereditary church, and with the organized religious opposition to the Ultramontane hierarchy.

The election seated Father Hyacinthe and his colleagues

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as curés of the Catholic Church of the city of Geneva, established by law. The old parish church of St. Germain was placed at their disposal, and is thronged every Sunday with suffocating crowds of worshipers. The great and costly church of Notre Dame will doubtless pass to the use of the legally recognized Catholic parish of Geneva, as soon as, in the constant growth of its numbers, this parish finds it necessary to demand the use of it.

But this was in the city of Geneva, where, it may perhaps be said, allowance ought to be made for the Protestant influences with which the Catholic population is surrounded. On the last Sunday in December a much more significant election was to take place in the old Savoyard Catholic city of Carouge. It is a city of 8,000 souls, 6,000 of whom were Catholic. Both priesthood and population were notorious for their fanatical zeal, so that the Reformed Catholic priests had been able to go thither, on their occasional duties, only at the risk of personal violence. In fact, it was the disloyal mob-provoking fury of the preaching in the great parish church which had hastened the arrangements for the election here. The issue of the election was not doubtful, indeed, for the policy of abstention was still enjoined by the Ultramontane clergy; but the utmost pressure, spiritual, social, domestic, and commercial, was brought to bear to dissuade men of liberal inclinations from voting, and so cut down the moral effect of the election. Out of the Catholic population of 6,000, there were 516 registered Catholic voters. The only candidate for the place of curé was the Abbé Marchal, one of the most eminent and eloquent of the French mission-preachers.[1] Of the 561 registered voters,

1. M. Marchal is the author of several very widely circulated religious books.

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281 actually cast their ballots for the Liberal priest. The state of the case was now clear to a demonstration. The Catholic population of the Canton of Geneva, even in the ancient and undisputed seats of Catholicism, freely rejected the Ultramontane system and its ministers.

The Reformed Catholic Church is now organized in only four of the great centres of population of the canton. In the little agricultural parishes, ideas of reformation naturally make slower progress; and the leaders in the present movement, confident in the steady advance which their principles are making, are not disposed to hurry these parishes in the work of reorganization.

The movement of reformation elsewhere in Switzerland varies from that in Geneva in certain respects. It is older by a few months. It has been led, in some instances, by the clergy actually in charge of the parishes. It has been marked more distinctly by the interference of the civil government.

It first began to attract attention in November, 1871, when Professor Herzog, of Olten, and Curé Gschwind, of Starrkirch, both in the thoroughly Roman Catholic Canton of Soleure, in German Switzerland, stoutly refused to give in their adhesion to the doctrine of infallibility. In the Canton of Lucerne, also, the Abbé Egli enunciated in no mild terms his resolution to adhere to the Old Catholic faith rather than the new faith of the Vatican. A canvass of the clergy of that canton showed, it was said, the names of fifty-three ecclesiastics who rejected infallibility. In sundry towns where the clergy

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and of an autobiography, just published under the title *Souvenirs d'un Missionnaire*. This book is well worth reading for its lively illustrations of recent history, and especially its picture of life in the French priesthood.

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were Ultramontane, there were movements for the organization of Old Catholic associations; sometimes with the establishment of separate worship. Evidently there was dangerous progress of demoralization in ecclesiastical discipline, and a prudent bishop (and most bishops, except Dupanloup, mean to be prudent) might well hesitate as to the best course to be taken. To enforce discipline might precipitate rebellion; to neglect it might permit demoralization to spread indefinitely. Bishop Eugenius Lachat, of Bâle, took a cautious middle course. He first waited till the rebellion was well under way, and then clapped on all the spiritual censures at his disposal. It was not until late in the year 1872 that he ventured to suspend the Curé Gschwind. But this time the whole village had identified themselves with the quarrel of their pastor, and the neighboring parishes, including the city of Olten, interested themselves on the same side. Appeal was made to the government of the canton—the Catholic government of the Catholic Canton of Soleure—which resolved to sustain the suspended pastor in his rights against the new dogmas; to petition the canton to prohibit the teaching of them in the schools and churches; and in general to stand by Gschwind. The agitation involved the neighboring cantons, especially those that were associated in the Diocese of Bâle. For this most important of the Swiss Catholic dioceses is made up of seven cantons, confederated for the purpose, and meeting for state business relating to the diocese in "a diocesan conference." This body was convened in November, 1872, and called upon the bishop to give account of himself for excommunicating and deposing pastors Egli and Gschwind. The bishop declined to answer, and the diocesan conference,

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at an adjourned meeting, January, 1873, withdrew the act of approbation under which Bishop Lachat had taken his see, declared the bishopric to be vacant, and took effectual measures to make their declaration valid.

The Canton of Berne, a part of the Diocese of Bâle, took measures still more energetic. This Protestant canton, like that of Geneva, had had annexed to it by the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, a considerable tract of Catholic territory, now known as the Bernese Jura. The sixty-nine parish priests of this region having, more or less against the will of their own flock, refused to submit to the decision of the Government relative to the bishop of the diocese, and to obey the authority of the State in other matters, the cantonal government, in March, 1873, withdrew their salaries, suspended them from their functions, and cited them before the Court of Appeal and Cassation to show cause why their authorization should not be revoked; then, looking upon these flocks in the mountains as sheep without a shepherd, it undertook, in its own rough but doubtless well-intentioned way, the cure of souls and the functions of bishop. It is one of the constant surprises of this movement what a multitude of priests of good standing in the Roman Catholic hierarchy are on hand to step into openings made after this irregular fashion. The fact stands in curious contrast, on the one hand, with the solid and beautiful discipline with which the deprived clergy give up flock, salary, and parsonage, rather than yield one point of allegiance to their constituted bishop; on the other hand, with the long, unenterprising, and hopeless silence of the deserters under the Ultramontane yoke, until the favorable hour arrived for coming out from under it. These State appointees are,

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of course, fiercely attacked at every vulnerable point by the Ultramontane press, but it does not appear that they are one whit inferior in personal qualities to the adherents of the bishop; and some of them, to judge from their former positions, their academic titles, and their occasional printed discourses, are men of character and dignity.[1]

It ought to be said that this appointment of parish priests by the State Council of Berne was only intended to be provisional. A general law, applicable alike to Protestant and Catholic parishes, was submitted to the popular vote of the canton in January, 1874, and adopted by an immense majority. It provides for the election of pastors and curés, for the organization of a cantonal synod for each denomination, and for a considerable degree of parochial independence; and withal for perfect liberty to all persons to dissent from the National Churches and organize separate congregations.

The extent to which the Reformation has proceeded elsewhere in Switzerland can now be statistically exhibited in this article. But the importance of the movement must not be inferred from figures, unless they are considered in reference to the time in which the movement has been in progress. They should represent the work, not of three years, or even of one year, but the work of a few months. At the time of the Swiss convention of Old Catholics at Olten, August, 23, 1873, only five Catholic parishes had adopted the Reformed service; in five others, separate Old Catholic services, had been organized, and in some two or three score there were Old Catholic

1. A more thorough acquaintance with the *personnel* of the new clergy fails to justify the favorable remarks about their character; excepting in some honorable instances.

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societies. It is partly on the great *initial velocity* of this movement that we found our computations of its probable range.

Certain questions will arise in the minds of intelligent and critical readers of the foregoing statements, which we wish to furnish all available materials for answering.

I. Is this reformation a movement, *bonâ fide*, of Roman Catholics; or is it mainly a demonstration carried on by old enemies of the Catholic Church, who seize upon an inconsiderable disaffection among the faithful to impose upon the public by using the Catholic name?

The answer will depend entirely on the definition given to the word Catholic. For, as all persons know who have had any experience of the Romanist controversy, the polemics of that faith have two definitions, and two corresponding sets of statistics, one for assault, and the other for defense. Under one, they boast of their 300,000,000 of Catholics in the world, of their voting strength in the republic, of their vast proportionate growth, of their claim upon public moneys, of their right to the chaplaincy of reformatories and poor-houses. Under the other, they protest against the unfairness of the statistics of Catholic crime, ignorance, and pauperism; they petition for Protestant subscriptions for church-building funds for their feeble little flock; they contradict reports of variation and dissension in the Church by declaring all dissentients from their own views to be no Catholics at all, or only "half-Catholics;" they repudiate the association of useful but unsavory supporters; they wash their hands of responsibility for corruptions, fanaticisms, and abuses. According to the former definition, the Catholic Church is glorious for its numbers and

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ecumenicity, but a monstrously heterogenous and incoherent mass, in which disorders, heresies, immoralities, and schisms, by their own statement, are horribly prevalent. According to the latter view, the Catholic Church is an exquisitely select, pure, and homogeneous sect, but far from overwhelming in point of numbers.

In the latter sense of the word, doubtless the Swiss reform is not, to a very large extent, a movement of Catholics. The majority of the steady-going "good Catholics," who go frequently to confession and occasionally on pilgrimages, have stuck by their parish priests, and the priests with few exceptions have stuck by the bishops, and the bishops have stuck by one another and the Pope. The reformers are mainly recruited from the late followers of that brilliant and earnest Liberal party in the Catholic Church to which American Catholic writers used to point triumphantly in proof of the compatibility of Catholic faith with liberal views in politics, but which was extinguished at the Vatican Council, and whose illustrious leader, Montalembert, was stigmatized in his coffin by the Pope as a "half-Catholic." Doubtless, the most of these have not been assiduous in attendance on the ministrations of Ultramontane pastors, by whom they have been detested with the bitterness of a family quarrel. Probably, also, there is justice in the allegation made against the "Swiss Catholic" Church that it owes its establishment and support in part to freethinkers—to men who, in their reaction from the excesses of Ultramontanism, have become alienated more or less remotely from the very substance of the Christian religion. Certainly, in a division between Liberal and Ultramontane

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Catholics, the sympathies of this class of people would not be found to be with the latter party.

But if the word Catholic is to be used in its larger, looser, and more usual sense, the Swiss Reformation is unimpeachably a spontaneous movement among the Catholics themselves. Witness, for example, the Canton of Soleure, where the movement has been most rapid and successful. It is a Catholic canton, with Catholic churches, schools, magistrates, institutions, usages, and traditions, and a population of 60,000 Catholics to 10,000 Protestants Yet this is the region where the Catholics are getting, perhaps, more grievously "persecuted" than any where else. In the Canton of Geneva, where the charge is constantly reiterated that the organization of the Catholic Church has been revolutionized by Protestants, the Catholic population is also considerably in the majority. But the law "for the organization of Catholic worship," though voted for by the Protestants as well as Catholics, is drawn with scrupulous care to secure to the Catholics alone the control of their parish elections. The interference of Protestant voters is prevented by the thorough system of electoral registration here in use. No person can be a voter in the election of more than one denomination, and no person registered as a Protestant can have his name entered as a voter on the Catholic list until *two years* after it has been erased from the former list.

On the whole, it is matter of demonstration that the vast majority of the voting citizens of Roman Catholic descent and association is decisively alienated from that system which is represented as the only true Catholicism, and from the clergy who sustain it. The interesting historical pamphlet of M. Roget, *La Question Catholique*

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à Genève, shows clearly, from a careful scrutiny into the course of popular elections from 1815 to 1873, that it never has been otherwise; that during the long period of apparent aggrandizement of the Romish party, the period of panic among Protestant alarmists, of priestly swagger and prophecy, of political trading in "the Catholic vote," there has never been any "Catholic vote," of any extent, to trade in; and that, with all their promises and threats, the clergy have been equally harmless as political enemies, and useless as friends.

II. To what extent is this a spiritually religious movement, and in what measure is it impelled by lower and secular motives?

One who looks to find in the Catholic Reformation of the nineteenth century a complete parallel to the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth, with its profound awakening of the religious nature, and its earnest, thorough, and enthusiastic studies in theology, will be disappointed. If he looks further, for a display on the part of the reformers, of the rancorous and sometimes malignant passions which frightfully deform the records of three centuries ago, he will be happily disappointed. The haggard dyspeptic faces of the old Geneva reformers, as they look down from the walls of the city library, are not more in contrast with the serene and humane though earnest countenances of the Reformed Catholic pastors, than the temper of the former with that of the latter. Happily, it is not permitted to infer a lack of religious zeal and fervor from a lack of acrimony in dispute. So far as one may judge from the words and acts of the new Catholic clergy of Geneva, the religious spirit of their work is pure, affectionate, fervent. Every one who has

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known the preaching of the illustrious chief of this company, as well before as after his rupture with the Roman hierarchy, knows what is his power to inspire the great articulated osseous structure of the Latin theology with the breath of evangelic life, so using the terms of that wonderful system as that good and holy men of every confession should find them to come very near the expression of their own religious thought and feeling. This unction is upon him still, and the spirit of his own preaching is that of his colleagues. And if the substance of their doctrine tends to be too *Protestant* (in the etymological meaning of the word)—if it deals at present more in negation of error and abuse, than in foundation and construction, the fact is necessarily incident to the present stage of the reform.

But if one could explore the motives which have prevailed in the minds of this great mass of Roman Catholic laymen to coöperate in the reorganization of their Church, it is impossible to see that other considerations have had their influence, as well as simple religious feeling and conviction. In particular, the honorable pride of Swiss patriotism, jealous of any attempt from abroad to infrige upon the independent sovereignty of the little republic, has been sorely wounded by the defiant assertion on the part of the clergy of a paramount allegiance to a foreign power, and their insolent infractions of the laws of the land to which they have sworn fidelity. Their not infrequent hints of a possible recourse to the interference of France to enforce the observance of the rights of Swiss Catholics have won them no friends even in their own confession; and the recent discovery of a plot to organize an "Appeal of the Swiss Catholics to Foreign Powers,"

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has excited in the Swiss people of every creed an indignation which not even the comical absurdity of the whole affair is sufficient to assuage. No doubt, the pressure of patriotic and political considerations has affected the Catholic laity, as well as their honest disgust at the new dogmas and measures of the Ultramontane clergy; and yet, in the number of worshippers in their churches, and the number of communicants at their sacraments, the new clergy find a sort of encouragement which the number of votes at an election by no means furnishes.

III. What are the tendencies and prospects of the movement?

On one point, anxious Protestants may be reassured. The chances of a reunion of the Swiss Catholics to the See of Rome are exceedingly slender. What may take place, when the long-delayed departure of Pius the Ninth shall at last touch the spring of ecclesiastico-political changes in every part of Christendom, it is, of course, impossible definitely to predict. It is possible to imagine that the conclave may find themselves, by mistake, as in 1846, with a Liberal Pope on their hands. But this mistake is not likely to be made twice in succession. The contingency of a plurality of Popes, as in the days of the Great Schism, is far more probable. The event of a second Council of Constance is hardly conceivable in our days. Meanwhile, the Swiss Reformers are among the most sincere well-wishers for the good health and long life of the present Pope. To those who, in their haste to see the *dénouement* of the present singular complications, express the wish that History would hurry itself a little, they answer with unaffected deprecations of any change

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in the Papacy. His present Holiness is doing their work for them as well as it could possibly be done. A little abatement of fanaticism, a little show of liberality, or even of discretion, at Rome, would be a serious obstacle in what not seems to them the only hopeful way of Catholic Reform. To the thoughtful leaders among them, the union of the Universal Church about the see of one primatial bishop, the first among his peers, is still the cherished ideal of Christian order—cherished the more fondly in their hopes for the future, by as much as their dream of its present realization has been dashed, by as much as they see the ideal centre of universal love and loyalty transformed into an actual seat of despotic power, the spring of unnumbered schisms, instead of the nucleus of union. But among the mass of the Catholic laity of Switzerland the predominant feeling in view of the rupture with Rome is manifestly that of unmixed relief at being rid of the incubus of a foreign yoke. They are too near to Rome, and too well informed of its affairs, to enjoy the thought of being governed in all their most sacredly personal affairs by the edicts of a knot of intriguing Italians. Even if the temper of the Swiss were less indisposed than it is to invite foreign intervention from any quarter, they might be excused for declining to recognize their trans-Alpine next-neighbors as the chosen people, holding by divine appointment the control of the destinies of Christendom. The mood of the popular Catholic mind might be inferred from the murmur of approval which ran through the crowd in the great church of Carouge when the Abbé Marchal, in his inaugural sermon, declared: "I bear about with me a double title to your affection and fidelity; first, as elected

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by the suffrages of the Christian people; secondly, as excommunicated by the Vatican."

But the attitude of the Swiss Catholics is not one of mere protest against the last innovations and of severance from Rome. They have ceased to be an "Old Catholic" party, in the sense which those words were originally meant to convey. The first idea of the Munich and Bonn professors was to call a halt, and make a fixed stand at the point which the Church had reached before the Vatican decrees of July, 1870; and it was a little odd to see the eagerness with which many of the extremest Protestants rushed forward to tender them the right hand of fellowship on the platform of the doctrine and discipline of the Council of Trent. But both in Germany and in Switzerland, and especially in the latter, they have found that there is no level place to stand on at that point, and that their choice is between sliding downward and climbing back. On questions of discipline they have no difficulty in saying that this is a matter which the Church has always held to be variable and "reformable;" and that until the Swiss Church is reorganized with its due authorities of bishops and synod to reform the discipline, there must be provisional reform of manifest abuses. On questions of doctrine there is more difficulty. "Once a doctrine, always a doctrine," is the principle both of old Catholics and new. And while the Reformers, with undoubted sincerity, profess their submission to all authentic doctrinal traditions of the Church Catholic, and all decrees of councils truly ecumenical, they declare that the time is at hand when the discrimination should begin to be made, under some just authority, between the real dogmas of the Church and the "dogmas which are not

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dogmas, but modern superfetations"—between genuinely free and ecumenical councils, and the *latrocinia* and *ludibria* which claim to be councils.

The position of the Swiss Catholics as it was a few months since is distinctly defined in the Resolutions of the convention at Olten, August 31, 1873. After projecting the reconstitution of the Swiss Church in conformity alike with apostolic usage and with the republican usages of the country, the convention declared:

"Finally, that the meaning, tendencies, and bearing of the Syllabus of 1861, and of the decrees of 1870 upon papal infallibility, are sufficiently known and understood; and that the moment is come for entering resolutely upon the practical business of *reformation*.

"But it seems best that reformation should begin in matters of outward worship; and in this field, to destroy the abuses which are in direct opposition to the teaching of Jesus and his apostles—abuses which stand in the way of religious tolerance, of good feeling between different religious communions, and of the providential union of the great family of mankind.

"The assembly therefore expresses the hope that in Old Catholic towns, the authorities and the faithful will at once endeavor to effect the following reforms:

"1. The adoption of the language of the people for all parts of divine service, whether in the church or out of it, except the mass, the language and ritual of which are to be determined by a future diocesan synod.

"2. The simplification and improvement of public worship and divine service.

"3. The suppression of all fees, taxes, gratifications, etc., paid for religious services, whether in the church or out of it, including charges made for masses. Annual masses for the dead wil continue to be celebrated, but the cost of them will be charged to the income of the church. On the other hand, there should be a suitable increase in the salary of the ecclesiastics and other servants of the church.

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"4. The suppression of all payment for dispensations, of whatever sort.

"5. The prohibition of all levying of Peter's pence, and trading in indulgences and like matters, and all collections for the Propaganda.

"6. The utmost possible reduction of confraternities, pilgrimages, penances, and of the adoration of images.

"7. The restriction of processions and other like ceremonies to the interior of the church, and its immediate surroundings. The suppression of processions to a distance.

"8. The regulation by law of whatever concerns the hindrances to marriage established by the Catholic Church, in so far as these hindrances are made the occasion of dispensations to be paid for in money.

"9. The mitigation of the conditions and guarantees required of ecclesiastics for the celebration of mixed marriages.

"10. The obligation of priests to give their benediction to marriages celebrated civilly, whenever it is demanded.

"11. The admission, at baptism, of sponsors belonging to other Christian communions.

"12. The secularization of cemeteries.

"13. The obligation of priests to perform the rites of the Church at all burials, without distinction, if the family of the deceased desire it.

"14. That the religious ceremonies shall be the same at all funerals, whether of rich or poor, strong or weak.

"15. The establishment of undenominational schools.

"16. The aiding of students in theology who intend to undertake the cure of souls in Old Catholic towns."

This has not quite the ring of Luther's Wittenberg Theses, certainly; but is good as far as it goes. We find an indication not only of the difference of place and person, but of the lapse of a few months of time, to compare the foregoing manifest with the four points under which Father Hyacinthe, in a familiar discourse, recently

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introduced the work of the reformation of Catholic discipline to the congregation of a country church:

1. The suppression of compulsory confession; 2. The liberation of the clergy from enforced celibacy; 3. The election of pastors by the people; 4. The emancipation of the Church from its bondage to dead languages by the use of the language of the people in a liturgy in which they speak to God, and in a translation of the Bible in which God may speak to them.

The French Liturgy of the Mass now in use in Geneva is full of suggestions as to the tendencies of the reorganized churches. It is, as the preface declares, simply a translation from the various Catholic liturgies, and more particularly from those of Rome and Paris, and from the Ritual of Bishop Wessemberg, which is used in many parishes of German Switzerland. An historical introduction. translated from a work of Prof. Friedrich of Munich, insists upon several points of interest:

"In all the ancient liturgies the real presence of the body and blood of Jesus Christ is enunciated most clearly and explicitly. . . . As to the manner in which this presence is effected, whether, for example, it is by means of transubstantiation, there is nothing said whatever, either in the ancient or in the present liturgies. The same silence prevails as to the nature of the sacrifice of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. . . . It even seems doubtful, if we confine ourselves to the precise words of the Roman mass, as they stand to-day, whether the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ are designated in it as a sacrifice; for the expression "oblation" relates really to the (unconsecrated) gifts of bread and wine offered to the church by the faithful. 'Let these offerings become for us the body and blood of Jesus Christ' is said before the consecration; and the 'pure, holy, and spotless victim' of the offertory is, after the consecration, 'the holy bread of everlasting life, and the cup of eternal salvation.'"

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Obviously, the most advanced party in the English Church and the advanced party in the Swiss Catholic Church—advancing in opposite directions—have met and passed each other, some time ago.

The introduction shows further that the present practice of the Roman Church concerning the use of dead languages, private masses, the communion under one kind, and of unfermented wafers, is contrary to the authority of Catholic antiquity.

But the foot-notes appended to the text of the liturgy, to guard the mind of the worshiper from error, are even more significant. For example, the following, under the words of the confession: "I confess to God Almighty, to the blessed Virgin Mary, to Saint Michael the Archangel, etc., etc., to all the saints, and you to my brethren."

"Sin is an offense against the holiness of the Christian community as well as against God's holiness: therefore it is that the confession of sins is not addressed exclusively to God, but also to the whole church, in heaven as well as on earth."

And upon the prayer of the priest when he kisses the altar—"We pray thee, O Lord, by the merits of thy saints":

"The priest here affirms the intimate fellowship which unites all the members of Christ's body the Church. The merits of the saints, that is of all true Christians, are the merits of Jesus Christ himself, 'who liveth in them,' as Saint Paul says. They are all of grace, so that, in the words of the Catholic Liturgy according to St. Augustine, 'in crowning our merits God crowneth his own gifts.'"

And on the *Filioque* in the Creed:

"The addition of these words *and from the Son* undoubtedly expresses a great doctrinal truth. But this addition was not made

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by competent authority, that of an ecumenical council, and has consequently been a potent cause of division between the churches of the East and West. This point is one of those which demands attention in the future revision of our liturgy."

And at the elevation of the host:

"It is important to remark that the adoration which takes place after the consecration is addressed, not to the bread and the wine, but to Jesus Christ, who has become thenceforth mysteriously and really present in the sacrament."

Wherein the doctrine above expressed differs from that doctrine of "the mystical presence" which was formulated in Geneva by John Calvin three hundred years ago, we are at a loss to say.

There need be no doubt, then, that the leaders in the Swiss Catholic Church are in earnest in their purposes of reform, and that in a right direction. A more doubtful question, which gives just anxiety to some friendly observers, is whether the spirit of reform, carrying these churches away from their ancient moorings, may not sweep them away to just such disastrous shipwreck as has in many instances befallen the national Protestant Churches of Switzerland, in some of which the resurrection of Christ, and the life of the world to come, are said to be openly denied. The fervid piety of such a man as Hyacinthe, whose personal influence is supreme over the framing of the churches of the Canton of Geneva, is a sufficient guarantee of their soundness so long as he lives. But a man does not live so long as an institution; and it is not to be denied that there is something in the form of this reorganization of the Swiss Catholic churches, in their relation to State patronage, their present emancipation

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from hierarchical oversight, their emphatic assertion of parochial autonomy, which may justify grave doubts of their future stability in the Christian faith. One finds among them no recognition of that Puritan principle of committing the control of the spiritualities of the church to the brotherhood of spiritual men, as distinguished from the merely nominal Christians, with which ecclesiastical independency has always been associated, and which is probably essential to its safe working. If the reform shall fail, it will probably be in consequence of the remitting of religious questions to the universal suffrage of the nominally Catholic population. But as to the seriousness of this peril, it is premature to pronounce until the organization of the Swiss hierarchy is completed by the consecration of its bishops, and the complete framework of the reconstituted church is open to view.[1]

IV. One question remains, not inferior in practical interest to the foregoing: To what extent can we compute the future of Roman Catholic institutions in the United States, from the course which they have taken in Switzerland?

On many superficial points, as we have already hinted, the historical analogy between the two countries is very striking. The epoch (1815) at which a sudden accession of Catholic population was acquired to the Protestant republics of Berne and Geneva coincides with the

1. The perils here indicated were stated with great force by M. Ernest Naville, the eminent writer and philosopher, in a memorial to the Government of Geneva against the establishment of the Liberal Catholic Church by law. I am under great obligation to M. Naville for the opportunity of reading his argument in manuscript.

P.S.—The subsequent history has fully justified his worst misgivings.

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beginning of the Catholic migration to America. On both sides of the water has been the same anti-popery agitation, the same organization of Orange and Know-Nothing lodges and of proselyting societies, the same concessions and cajoleries of politicians toward "the Catholic vote," the same boastful predictions on the part of the Romish clergy of the speedy conquest of the country to the obedience of the Pope. In Switzerland, in the very height of these most sanguine hopes, the towering structure that was in building by the Ultramontane hierarchy has suddenly fallen, and on inspection we find that it never had foundation nor strength of walls. Does this justify us in prognosticating a like fate for plans and hopes in the United States?

M. Amédée Roget, in the capital historical pamphlet which we have already quoted, and the title of which stands at the beginning of this article, asserts, and goes far toward proving, that the present result is the natural and inevitable consequence, which might have been predicted and was predicted, of exposing Catholic people and institutions to the influence of light and liberty in a free republic. Every facility was given to the priesthood to train their flocks in the way in which they should go. Religious schools, under the conduct of the secular priests, and under the teaching brotherhoods and sisterhoods, have been tolerated or sustained by the State; demoralizing influences have been warded off from their sheepfolds by treaty stipulations forbidding Protestant churches in the Catholic towns; and yet out of their clerical schools have graduated the civil leaders of the Catholic Reform, and their Catholic communes give majorities against their own clergymen!

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One difference between the two situations lies in the fact that in Switzerland there has been legal and governmental recognition of the church relations of the citizen, so that one born a Catholic has been counted a Catholic until by some formal act he has abandoned or transferred his church-allegiance. As of old, Peter has been using one of his "two swords"—the one he has borrowed of the civil magistrate—a little more freely than is good for him. This bulk of Catholic believers, thus given over to the training of the clergy, and imputed to them in the census returns, was extremely glorious to tell of, but inconvenient to the last degree when it was allowed to vote. Better have disowned it long before as "free-thinking," or freemason, or "half-Catholic," than have boasted of it for fifty years to be voted down by it on the fifty-first! One result of the absolute ignoring of religious distinctions on the part of the United States Government, so that one becoming indifferent or disaffected toward his religious communion comes off from it without fuss or violence, has doubtless been the loss to the Roman Catholic Church in the United States of millions of souls that were hers by birth or inheritance, but over whom her pastors have mourned as given up to Protestantism or some other form of perdition. But it has left under the charge of the priesthood a picked and tried and still formidably numerous company, who stay in their Church for conviction's sake and conscience' sake, or for something much like these, and in which the elements of disaffection do not stay long enough to accumulate and become dangerous. Even if there were ever opportunity for voting in the Roman Catholic Church in America, there need be little fear of an anti-clerical party in a community so

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composed. But, thanks to the generosity of the American States, in granting to the Catholic bishops such an absolute control over all church property as is unheard of in all the lands of Catholic Christendom, the last suspicion of peril from the action of a disaffected laity is completely extinguished. Men are sure not to vote wrong if they are not allowed to vote at all. In Switzerland, the voice of the strong majority of the Catholic laity has prevailed against the almost unanimous resolution of the hierarchy. In America, to such a degree do the laws on the one hand, and the absence of legislation on the other, favor the practice of absolute personal government on the part of the bishop, that the unanimous protest of all the priests and all the people would have no more influence against the decision of his lordship than the whistling of the wind. He could lock the doors of his churches against clergy and people alike, and turn to the stones of the street to raise up children to Abraham. In Switzerland, as elsewhere in Europe, the necessity of permission from the State, either for the installing or for the removal of pastor or bishop, imposes something like a constitutional limitation on the absolution of hierarchical government, making possible a certain degree of liberty. In the United States, the absolute influence of the bishop over every clerk and layman in his diocese, is limited only by his own fear of the bowstring which, being *amovibilis ad nutum*, he is liable any moment to have sent to him from the Sublime Porte of the Propaganda College. The narrowest uniformity can be enforced through all ranks of the Church. This is the explanation of the puzzling paradox that in the freest and most enlightened country in the world, the Catholic Church should be more Ultramontane

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than any where else in Christendom. It is because the Italian Pontiff is absolutely free to enforce his policy in America, by all spiritual penalties, and by pecuniary sanctions up to the entire value of the church property, and because all Catholics of liberal leanings, who might otherwise be a leaven of liberalism in the lump, are absolutely free to leave the Church if they do not like it, and free to do nothing else under heaven. And the more they leave it the more unanimously and intensely anti-liberal becomes the residuum.

This continued wasting and dribbling at the safety-valve saves much of the danger of a future revolution of the Roman Church in America, or a splitting into two sects. But it also prevents it from ever being any thing more than a sect itself; a sect formidable, no doubt, for numbers, for organization, for the concentration of its enormous real estate under the power of a single Italian prelate, and for its curious and perilous facility of coalition with all manner of Jacobinism and demagogy, but still a sect; for it is sheer impossibility that an institution which is not broad enough to contain two parties should ever succeed in holding within its pale any large fraction of a free people. From time to time, the possessors of unlimited power will be tempted, despite their habitual prudence, to make injudicious use of it, and there will result defections, more or less numerous, of laymen, or of priests. But the corporation will continue, preserved by the peculiar structure of American laws from any danger of subversion; and although it may fluctuate in numbers, its corporate wealth can not but go on steadily and rapidly increasing.

One more point of difference between the United

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States and Switzerland, which has favored the development of the Catholic Reformation in the latter country, is worth mentioning for the salutary and Christian lesson which it conveys. Despite the violence of some anti-popery zealots, and the social exclusiveness encouraged by the Ultramontane priests, there have subsisted between the citizens of the two communions relations, on the whole, of personal and social good-fellowship. Not but that there has been some natural disposition on the part of the old citizens to look down on the palpably inferior intelligence, culture, and prosperity of the new—and some sense of injury on the part of the latter toward the former; but that, on the whole, the differences of religious belief have been forgotten in the mutual relations of citizen and neighbor. Doubtless, this is easier between people of like lineage and antecedents than between alien races. But in the United States, the causes which once enforced a wide social separation between the Catholic Irish and the Protestant American dwindle in the second generation, and vanish in the third. It is not only a sin, it is a woful folly, if the effect is suffered to outlive the causes. For that free, kindly, equal intermingling with Protestants, in school, in business, in politics, in society, and especially in acts of charity, which it is the effort of Ultramontane policy to prevent, is the most potent of all influences to produce, we need not say proselytes, but liberal Catholics; and liberal Catholic, according to the definitions of the Vatican, is equivalent, for all practical ends, to no Catholic at all. Certainly, for all the purposes of good citizenship in the republic, it is much more than equivalent to illiberal Protestant.

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IX.

CATHOLIC REFORM IN NORTHERN SWITZERLAND.

THREE LETTERS IN THE "CHRISTIAN UNION."

LETTER I.

Sunday, April 26, 1874.

SAIGNELEGIER, IN THE BERNESE JURA,

Your "own correspondent" has spent a strange Sunday in search of the truth touching the so-called Catholic Reformation in Switzerland. The way of reaching this secluded corner of the earth is to go to Neuchâtel, and from that charming, quaint old town—the New Castle of which is thirteen centuries old, and shows the mark of each of them, down to the superb restorations of the present—and to take the new switch-back railroad, unknown to tourists, which zig-zags up the flank of the

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Jura. The fair lake spreads out beneath you as you rise; the apparently high mountains on the other side shrink and dwindle, and the really high ones go towering higher and higher, till all the eastern and southern horizon is walled around with snowy peaks, and the remotest perspective is closed at last by the white pyramid of Mont Blanc. You go tunneling through many dismal cliffs of "Jurassic limestone," and come out presently at Chaux-de-Fonds, most prosaic and unpicturesque of factory-villages, where every third house is a watch-factory, or if not, then a factory of watchmakers' tools, and where, my dear sir, your Geneva watch was probably made before being sent down to Geneva to be marked with the name of an eminent firm. Here you reach the limit of railroading (the sphere of the guide-books had been passed before), and have recourse to the historic and obsolescent diligence. It is over-full already, but for a consideration the *conducteur* will vacate his lofty seat and admit you to be adsessor to the *postillon*. That man has not truly traveled who has not sometime made acquaintance with the postillon—with his glazed hat, his red jacket, his cruel whip and its tremendous snapper, with his *hi-hi!* his *hia!* his *allez-bouge!* and (in extreme emergencies) his *houche!* I regret to add, also, his *sacr-r-e*, and his *gr-r-and nom de dieu!* We pass thrifty, neat, new-looking villages, with well-kept churches and school-houses—they are in the Protestant canton of Neuchâtel. We come to slovenly farms and Irish-looking hamlets; it is a sign that we have passed the boundary and are in the Catholic part of the canton of Berne. It is an open question still whether Protestantism makes people rich, or whether it is the deceitfulness of riches that makes a

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people Protestant; but all the statisticians of Europe are agreed that in the present state of society the Catholic style of godliness is no longer profitable to all things, having completely yielded to Protestantism the promise of the life that now is, leaving that of the life to come still in dispute.

Saignelégier (you will find the name only in the very largest gazetteers) is one of the Irishest of these villages. I had selected it at my first objective point for two reasons: first, it is reputed to be one of the most turbulent and intractable of all the parishes under the new *régime;* and secondly, I had been much attracted by what I heard of the new curé. He was mentioned in the newspapers as from Alabama, in America, and had given proof that he had not studied in vain the principles of liberty in that favored region, by announcing in the newspapers that if the police could not protect him from insult and attack he should take the matter into his own hands; and further, that if he caught any more of the Ultramontanes *roulant* round his premises at untimely hours of the night, he should shoot them on sight, not in his capacity as a minister of the gospel, but in his capacity as an American citizen. You can easily believe that upon minds accustomed only to the effete civilizations of the old world this energetic proceeding must have made a lively impression.

In consequence either of this demonstration or of something else, the village was quiet enough when I arrived on Saturday afternoon. I strolled about the treeless streets, though the bare churchyard, into the empty church. The vestibule was paved with monuments of village worthies, and the crosses and banners for funeral

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processions stood along the aisle. On either side of the chancel, enthroned conspicuously upon an altar, was a handsome glass show-case, containing an elaborately dressed recumbent skeleton. Spangles, gold-lace and beads covered the waist and skirts, the bony feet were cased in embroidered slippers, and the hands in silk gloves, outside of which cheap rings hung loose about the fingers. Each of them held a pasteboard palm branch, and by the side of each lay a wooden sword. One was labeled *St. Venustus martyr*, and the other *St. Faustina, martyr*, and they ought to be genuine, for it cost this poor little village, I am told, about 15,000 francs to get them from Rome.

My American brother serves two or three contiguous parishes, and after an early low mass in the church (at which he told me there would be nobody present) he had to leave for high mass and sermon at the next village. When I left my inn, at 8½ A.M., I found a crowd dressed in black preparing for an important funeral. But their old priest having been expelled from the country, and the new curé being held in horror, they were to bury their dead with a "civil interment," without religious rites. Parties of villagers in their Sunday array were straggling along the pleasant road that leads towards the French frontier. It was not easy to pity them their forced exchange of the village church, with its dismal pictures and grizzly old skeletons, for the bright April woods, lighted up with all manner of blossoming trees, and carpeted with tender grass sprinkled with cowslips, daisies and primroses, and fragrant with the incense of violets. And when I reached the rendezvous, where perhaps a hundred of the village folk were assembled,

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with their brass band, waiting for the prayers to begin which they were not permitted to have in the village, I thought I had never seen a more cheerful, not to say jolly, company of martyrs. So far as concerns the appearance of happy resignation, there was not one of them but deserved to have his skeleton done up in spangles and gilt paper and set up in the church alongside of Sts. Venustus and Faustina.

I could not stay to witness the worship. In fact, I lingered quite too long observing the people and the magnificent view that opened suddenly from the brow of of the precipice where they were gathered. We looked down a sheer cliff of a thousand feet and saw the little river Doubs—a ribbon of bright water—and on its further bank the little French village and church of Goumois, where mass was to be said by some of the exiled Swiss priests for the benefit of such of their late flock as might come to them. I made all haste down the steep foot-path and reached the church in the midst of the mass. It was said by a handsome young priest, the "revoked" vicar of Saignelégier, and the singing was by a choir of young children that had come from Les Pommerats, another Swiss village, to make their first communion. When mass was ended, their "revoked" pastor, an infirm old man of seventy, climbed slowly up into the high pulpit on the side-wall of the church to preach the sermon. He stood for a moment wiping his spectacles, and you would not have supposed, looking into his dull, blank face, that he was about to burst forth with a torrent of thoughtful and impassioned eloquence—and in point of fact he was not going to do anything of the kind. He took for his theme the vanity of life and the importance of

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eternity, and for half an hour droned and dawdled a stream of commonplaces broken only by occasional pauses in the attempt to remember his piece. But when he had finished, to his own evident relief, the old man fumbled awhile in the pocket of his cassock for a bit of note-paper on which were written a few words of warning to his late flock, now left without a shepherd, to beware of the perils of schism and irreligion. And in the attempt to read this, the tears gathered on his wrinkled cheeks, his voice faltered and failed, and he tottered down the pulpit stairs weeping aloud. I forgave him for his dull sermon.

The crowd in the church dispersed in all directions, and the mountain paths leading towards various neighboring Swiss villages were enlivened with groups of wayfarers. I joined myself to a group of peasant children. They belonged in a village eight miles from Goumois, and two little boys who were among the new communicants had walked thither and back four times that week to attend the catechism by way of preparation. "Wasn't it rather hard?" they asked; "and to think that they should have sent off their good pastors and sent this *canaille* in the place of them! But the boys had harried the *intrus*, the *apostat*, well at Saignelégier, hadn't they? And do you know that they have arrested one of the revoked curés, who had come back to his parish to minister to the sick, and have got him in prison?" I did not know it at the time, but have learned of it since through the papers. He was searched by the *gens d'armes*, and the only sign of sedition about him was that he had got his snuff-box full of consecrated wafers. Considering what the consecrated wafer is defined by the Roman Church to be, it does seem

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like horribly bad taste to pack a dozen of them into a snuff-box!

I passed the evening at the "*presbytère*" or parsonage with my Alabama brother and an elderly Italian priest just installed in the next parish. Our talk was naturally of the state and prospects of the "Liberal Catholic" Church in Switzerland. It was idle to disguise that in this parish it had a bad lookout. In the other parishes which he served the new curé had friends and adherents. In one he had seventeen catechumens. But there, where he lived, he was almost isolated from intercourse. The insult and assault which he had met with at first had ceased. The old clergy, having used their influence to provoke breaches of the peace, had been ordered away. The right of meeting for separate worship, which was distinctly guaranteed to the Ultramontanes by the new law, had been suppressed as a measure of police, when it was found that the congregations attacked and annoyed those who frequented the parish church. Order was completely restored by the temporary billeting of troops on the town. Everything is quiet now, and it needs only patience and pluck to bring about a good result.

So seemed to think my Alabama brother. And I have no doubt that if patience and pluck are the virtues needed, he is just the man for the place. His preparation for the work is singular and providential. Having been once a Jesuit, he is now a presbyter of the Protestant Episcopal Church in regular standing, but saying Latin masses *ad interim* in a Catholic parish. I mention this to the honor of the Episcopal Church, which is sometimes accused of an exclusive policy toward other denominations.

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To sum up my own first impressions from a single day's observations in the Catholic Jura, the allegation of danger to the public peace, by the Bernese Government, as a reason for banishing nearly one hundred parish priests, and afterwards interdicting their adherents from meeting for worship, seems to me either a shameful confession of weakness or a dishonest pretext for persecution; and the attempt to set up a new church without members promises no better result than to awaken and intensify a fanatical devotion to the proscribed church. The whole affair looks, at first sight, like own cousin to the legal establishment and propagation of Protestantism in Ireland, and likely to reach the same illustrious success.

But since I began this letter I have seen this matter in some other aspects, which I will report in my next.

LETTER II.

GENEVA, *May 5, 1874.*

I came away from Saignelégier by the diligence on Monday noon, with very unfavorable impressions of the "Old Catholic" movement as carried on by order of legislature. But that evening I arrived at Delémont, a notable little city which is just shedding its cincture of walls, and getting ready for the railroad that is expected there in the course of a twelve-month. The conspicuous building of Delémont is a huge quadrangular palace, once the summer residence of the mighty prince-bishops of

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Bâle, now labeled, in big letters, COLLEGE, and devoted to education in all grades up to that of grammar-school. Near the palace stands the large and fine church, built about the middle of the last century, and near this the spacious "presbytery" or parsonage.

Delémont, like the little country parish which I last described, was included in the sweep of those edicts which revoked the commissions of ninety-seven parish-priests, and finally expelled them from residing near their former churches, supplying their places with government appointees. But in this little city, according to the best information I could get, a good half of the Catholic population approve the change and sustain the new pastor. Here, too, although there is bitterness of feeling enough between the two parties, there has been no violence offered to the new pastor and his adherents by the Ultramontane congregation, and consequently their liberty of meeting for separate worship has not been interfered with. In fact this extreme measure has not been applied except in four places, where (according to the averment to me of a leading member of the government) the meetings of the Ultramontanes for the pretense of worship were really nothing but centers of conspiracy against public peace and order.

I called twice upon the Abbé Portaz, the new Curé. He is a prepossessing gentleman, of dignity, culture and learning—of eloquence, too, I am told. When I asked him whether he was acquainted with Hyacinthe, he told me that he had once met him at the table of Mermillod, the would-be Bishop of Geneva, before the days of infallibility and schism, when Hyacinthe was preaching Conférences at Carouge in a white woolen gown and a

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shaven head, and Portaz, a bishop's chaplain from Savoy, had come to preach in Mermillod's new cathedral of Notre Dame. Things are changed since them.

The Curé took me over to the great church. In a dark, high niche in the chancel, behind a plate of clear glass reclined a skeleton, said to be that of St. Germain, who in the seventh century had been founder of the neighboring Abbey of Grandval, now extinct. In the sacristy guarded by five successive locks with different keys, was the treasury of relics—the sandals of St. Germain, his *tibialia*, or stockings, his paten and chalice, of antique pattern and of virgin gold, and his bishop's staff; *item*, a jaw-bone of some anonymous worthy; and with these, brilliant with gilding and imitation jewels, the most costly "properties" of the church—pyxes and festal banners. The old oaken wardrobes which surrounded the large room on three sides were stored with the accumulation of centuries in priestly vestments, and one drawer was piled with broad, stiff chasubles of various dates, embroidered with silk, with silver and with gold, and some of them, most richly and curiously, with *straw*—the pious work of nuns in ancient time.

But all this, though curious enough, was much less to my purpose than to know the contents and materials of the spiritual edifice. The Curé of Delémont has no occasion, like his rural brother, to lament the lack of a congregation. On the contrary, he finds a goodly assembly every Sunday, composed in large part of men; and at Easter the Church was fairly filled with the crowd of worshipers. But he acknowledges that the Liberal Catholic population is ordinarily much more attentive at elections than it is at sermons and sacraments. They have been

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revolted from the old church not half so much by reaction against novelties in theology, or even by corruptions in worship and discipline, as by indignation at finding the church and pulpit turned into political machines, and especially into machines adverse to *their* politics.

The great hindrance to the immediate spread of the Liberal Catholic organization,—this is the common testimony of its representatives—is the lack of clergy. People, parishes, churches, salaries, are all ready. But the right men for the work are hard to find. The discipline which holds the ranks of the Roman priesthood unbroken against the combination of influences now bearing upon them is one of the most splendid things in history. "My clergy is a regiment, and it has to march," said the Cardinal-Bishop Bonnechose not long ago in the French Imperial Senate. In all that great army only here and there a priest, and not one single bishop of unquestioned standing is seen to fall out of line.

I turned from Delémont through a passage of scenery wonderfully refreshing after the dull undulations of the table-land where I had been spending these three or four days, and not without a certain majesty even to one whose eyes have been accustomed for months to the huge granite masses of the great Alps of Savoy. The Gorge of Moutier is not granite indeed; but whatever Nature can do in limestone is done there; and in some of the elements of sublimity there can be no dispute that the limestone cliffs of the Jura surpass the Alps. The twisted and tormented strata seem to be writhing still in the agony of that great convulsion in which they were cloven asunder to make way for the little river that is sawing its way annually deeper at the bottom. Weather-stained,

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rifted, cavernous, the opposing cliffs look each other in the face at a distance so narrow that the road notched into the precipice leaps from side to side a hundred feet above the stream, in bridges of a single span. The cuttings and multitudinous tunnels of the expected railroad—a miracle of engineering—come constantly into view, and at last, from under the arch of an ancient Roman tunnel, known as "the Peter-gate," decorated with a still legible inscription, "*to the divine Augustus*," I looked down upon a village dressed out in gay flags and evergreen arches, celebrating the inauguration of part of the road completed.

Do not think this paragraph about the new railroad to be quite out of place in a letter on the Church Reform. I assure you that the projected net-work of Jura railroads is considered by all concerned, on all sides, as having a very important part to play in the propagation and perpetuation of Liberalism.

I stopped a few hours at the interesting and most Catholic city of Soleure (in German, Solothurn), capital of the Catholic canton of the same name. There is nothing to see there but churches of unusual splendor and wealth, and a double cincture of magnificent towers, walls and moat, hardly inferior to those of famous Nuremburg. Go quick, if you would see them. They are gone already on the side next the railroad station; and those of Nuremburg are going too. Some paltry considerations touching the reduction of the death-rate are said to conspire with the hope of eligible building-lots to bring about the destruction of these noble monuments; and the tourist world is indignant at the burghers for not being willing to spare an average of a few months off the ends of their sordid

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lives, for the benefit of lovers of the picturesque and historic. Over the filled-up moat, and through the awful gap in its ancient ramparts, Liberal opinions have invaded Catholic Soleure, and hold it, in spite of Church and clergy. Whenever election-day comes round, the formidable fact becomes apparent that three-fourths of the people, though Catholics born and bred, are Liberals at heart and in politics, and mean to bear with their present pastors only so long as it is impossible for them to find others to take their place.

But my errand this day was not to the capital, but to Olten, a chief town of this Catholic canton. Hard by Olten, a dusty walk of twenty minutes from the station, lies little Starrkirch, unknown till lately in ecclesiastical history, now famous for its resolute rector (whose very name, with its seven consonants to one vowel, bespeaks a prophet that will not utter smooth things) and his steadfastly adhering parishioners. In Starrkirch one sees Old Catholicism in its typical aspect: the old parish church unaltered, the same old congregation, undiminished by desertion, the same pastor saying the same Latin masses, and preaching the same Tridentine theology—nothing changed, except that the Pope and the Bishop and all the rest of the clergy have pushed on, shouting excommunications backwards as they go, and left this little parish quite alone in the forsaken camp where they had rested for three hundred years. I walked through the little church-yard, in the center of which a great crucifix spreads its arms in benediction over the graves. In one corner of the yard was a strange spectacle—a niche of masonry with shelves of wood, on which I counted sixty-two human skulls of various antiquity. In the crowded cemetery, whenever

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an old grave has to be evacuated to make way for a new tenant, the skull of the former occupant is identified by his surviving friends, and laid away in this more conspicuous resting-place.

I had much and interesting conversation with Curé Gschwind, in his quiet country parsonage, and with Professor Herzog, the new Old Catholic Curé of Olten. How different the sober gravity of these scholarlike and thoughtful Germans, from the quick apprehensiveness and graceful facility of the priests in French Switzerland! Sustained as they are by the strong and intelligent adhesion of an almost unanimous population, they look with misgivings upon the rough measures of the Bernese Government in exiling old pastors and installing new over unwilling flocks, and distinctly decline all solidarity with the "mixed lot" of priests who have been swept together hastily to fill the sudden vacancies in the Bernese Jura, among whom, it is more than hinted, are men whose character it would be charitable to speak of as doubtful. Of Hyacinthe and his colleagues they speak with deep personal respect and kindness—it is impossible to do otherwise; but they themselves are not reformers—at least not on their own hook—and Hyacinthe is. They are simple conservatives, holding without variation to the Catholic Church as it was up to July 18, 1870, and patiently waiting for a Bishop to be consecrated and a Synod to be called that can undertake the reform of *discipline* (doctrine being irreformable) with due authority.

Since my visit to the Old Catholic churches and pastors, I have been to Berne and talked with leading statesmen there. You will be interested to get the political and Protestant view of these remarkable affairs in another letter.

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LETTER III.

GENEVA, *May 27th, 1874.*

In all fairness, I have felt compelled to report pretty unfavorable impressions of the ecclesiastical operations which have been carried on by the government of the Canton of Berne in the Roman Catholic districts of that Protestant Canton. I found there shepherds without sheep, saying masses in empty churches; and sheep without a shepherd, interdicted even from meeting for worship, and compelled to cross the frontier of a foreign country for the privilege of worshiping according to their consciences and of receiving instruction from their banished priests. In the larger towns, where "liberal," or free-thinking, opinions have made progress, things wear a better aspect, for there often a majority—sometimes an overwhelming majority—of the Catholic population gives its hearty consent to the discharge of the old pastor and the installation of the new. But even there, while the majority of voters is all one way, the majority of worshipers is all the other; and even in some of these large towns, too far distant from the French frontier to admit of weekly pilgrimages thither for worship, the liberty of separate worship for the Ultramontanes has been suppressed "as a precautionary measure," to prevent breaches of the peace.

Now, I do not find anything of the nature of religious persecution in the *disestablishment* of the old clergy. If

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the State owns certain meeting-houses and parsonages, and has certain salaries to bestow for pastoral service, it is certainly entitled to say who shall have the use of these, and is not altogether to blame for saying that they shall not be used by disloyal and disobedient persons to promote disloyalty and disobedience to the laws in others. Consequently, when the Supreme Court of the canton declared ninety-seven parish priests, on the occasion of their signing a manifesto adhering to the disloyal and deposed bishop, to be deprived of their commissions for malfeasance in office, it was evidently not unjust and presumptively not illegal, for we may take it for granted that Swiss Courts understand Swiss laws. But when it came to forbidding the late clergy to remain among their old parishioners, and to interdicting the latter from meeting for worship at their own charges, in order to provide against breaches of the peace, it did seem to me to be either a discreditable confession of weakness in the government, or else a persecution under false pretenses. It looked to me, too, like a most futile policy, fitted to bring about reaction and its own defeat; and meanwhile to train the Ultramontane church to habits of self-support which will give it a grand advantage in that period of the total separation of church and state which the Swiss people, with singular unanimity, perceive to be nigh at hand.

I have been interested in inquiring in all quarters, up to the highest stations of political leadership at Berne, to see what would be said to this view of the case.

One thing suggests itself to every traveler at the outset—the question whether it is the duty of the civil government to show itself absolutely indifferent in the

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case of a form of religion which blights the prosperity of the region where it prevails; which sterilizes the farms, makes the villages mean and foul, breaks down the schools, dries up the resources, and dwindles the population. These are matters that concern the dearest interests of secular government, and one cannot altogether blame the fathers of the state at Berne for at least wishing to do something for the relief of their pitiable Roman Catholic provinces.

Then, I found the sentiment generally expressed by the friends of the government policy, that it only required time and perseverance to bring the whole people round to it. The people of the Catholic districts have been trained by their own priests to the habit of submitting to authority without asking questions. It is only a question of waiting till the personal influence of the old priests has faded out and been forgotten, and the new generation will quietly accomodate themselves to established facts. Everything tends in this direction. The Protestant pastor at Delémont pointed out to me from his window sundry fresh mounds of earth here and there on the hill-side that marked the opening of iron-mines newly discovered, and then showed me the long embankment on which, in the course of a few months the railroad trains were expected in that secluded little mediæval city. These were among the influences that were expected mightily to help the government in its fight against Ultramontanism. They bring liberal ideas with them. For old-fashioned Romanism is not more the deadly foe of material progress and prosperity, than prosperity, in its turn, is the foe of Romanism.

The pastor, whose duty, in that Catholic town, was to minister to the few Protestant families who had come in

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from other regions, gave good reasons for being satisfied himself with the change of régime. He had been subjected to the arrogant insults of the clergy now expelled. He had seen the families of his flock forced to carry their dead long leagues away for burial by the intolerance which refused them any resting-place in Catholic soil; and it was no wonder that he should take satisfaction in seeing such pride followed by a fall. But if the question was on the priesthood and ritual, the doctrine and practice, that had been substituted for the old, he did not believe there was much to choose. If the new priests meant reform, why did they not begin it, instead of mumbling over the same old Latin masses, and inflicting the same yoke of ceremonials?

As I started to come away from the Catholic Jura, I had a capital opportunity of taking the gauge of public sentiment on the church question. It was a high day in that region; for there was to be in a neighboring valley an inauguration of one line of that reticulation of railroads which is soon to interlace the whole Jura; and the great open carriage in which I had taken passage was filled with a crowd of good-humored, well-to-do people, talking alternately and indifferently in German (and such German!) and French. It was not difficult to lead the talk toward church matters. When I asked what sort of men the new clergy seemed to be, the answer was a general sneer—"Oh! they are *priests*, and I suppose you know what that is!" "But how are they liked by the people?" "Well, we don't see much of them. Dubois, over there in the corner, tried going to church for a while, ask him." M. Dubois smiled sheepishly at the soft impeachment, and confessed that he had found the

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unwonted exercise of hearing sermons too much for his constitution, and had relapsed into the usual habits of the adult male Catholic with regard to church-going. By-and-by I was asked if I had seen the new curé of their village. Was happy to say that I had. And had he introduced me to his sister? Yes, I had seen the lady. "*Spiritual* sister, you know, eh?" No, indeed, I did not know it at all. "Oh! yes; it is perfectly understood; and the tall young gentleman is his *spiritual* nephew!"

Scandals of this sort are rife concerning the new curés, not only among their ultramontane antagonists, but in Protestant and even in Liberal Catholic circles. And the only answer to them that I have heard is in the shape of the most tremendous *tu quoque* allegation against their ultramontane predecessors. One of the most eminent statesmen at Berne assured me that nothing which was alleged against the character of the new clergy was one half as bad as what was absolutely demonstrated against the character of the old; and instanced the fact that within a single year, out of ninety-seven Catholic curés in that canton, not less than *five* had been arraigned before the criminal courts for crimes against morality and decency!

The same gentleman presented me with the documents illustrating the insolence and disloyalty of the ex-bishop and his clergy, which led to their expulsion. He assured me that the actual or threatened disturbances of the peace which had led to the billeting of soldiers in a few turbulent villages, and the temporary suppression of the right of worship there, were serious and aggravated; that the pretended separate worship was merely the pretext for organized resistance to the law, and that just

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as fast as these places made up their minds to behave peaceably, all these precautionary measures were removed. The recusant priests are allowed to return to their old parishes at once, on retracting their signatures to the insolent defiance of the government, and promising submission; on these terms some have already returned.

Whatever pity we may have for the deprived clergy and sect is of mere grace to them and not of merit. One of the bitterest complaints of the ex-bishop and his adherents is that they are not permitted to practice against the Old Catholics the very acts which they find so unpleasant when practiced against themselves. It was one of their earliest grievances, that they were not permitted to excommunicate and expel good Curé Gschwind, against the unanimous remonstrance of his parish, and impose an unwelcome intruder there.

But after all is said, there is a prevalent feeling that the civil government have attempted too much; that it would have been better for it to stop with revoking the civil commissions and salaries of the disloyal priests, and not try to make a bishop of itself and institute new ones. It is not felt that the expeditions into neighboring or distant countries to drum up Catholic priests to fill the vacancies have gathered a very choice company; and the serious Catholic reformers are a little shy of the fellowship of these associates. Such men as Herzog and Hyacinthe are fully aware that the main peril of their work is that unworthy men, and especially unworthy priests, will try to attach themselves to it. And with their best efforts this peril has not been wholly avoided.

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X.

THE FOURTH OLD CATHOLIC CONGRESS.*

FREIBURG, Baden, *September 8, 1874.*

The German Old Catholic Congress has this evening closed its sessions with a solemn smoke and beer-drinking in the Harmonie-halle. It began on Sunday, and although I arrived on Monday night, business was all over, and nothing remained to be witnessed but the show-meeting for speech-making this afternoon, and the beer and tobacco after supper. You will infer, perhaps, that there was not a great deal of business to do; and therein I suspect that you will be more than half right. I shall inform myself carefully and give the practical and statistical results of the meeting in another letter. Meanwhile, let me sum up my personal impressions of the meeting.

Comparing it with the imposing assembly at Cologne two years ago, it was impossible to help seeing some evidences of a falling-off. Professor von Schulte now, as

* From the *Christian Union.*

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before, President of the Congress, was present—a magnificent figure-head of the movement. Reinkens, the great popular orator of two years ago, was here also; but he is now a bishop, and the validity of his episcopal consecration is to be presumed from the fact that it has taken most of the fun out of him, and superinduced a disposition to take on fat. Professor Hüber was also here from Munich, and Doctor Michelis from his parish at Zurich. But the wrinkled face of Döllinger was not to be seen, nor the enthusiastic Schiller-like head of Friedrich, nor yet the form of Professor von Maassen of Vienna, who vies with von Schulte in his special branch of learning —two thunderbolts of canon-law. The company of distinguished visitors from outside has suffered a like diminution. Sundry Frenchmen came to fraternize, but the flags and patriotic inscriptions in the reception-hall were too much for them. One glance, and they bolted incontinently and were no more seen. Of course, the Protestant Episcopalian was here, humbly longing for a chance to recognize somebody ecclesiastically, who would recognize him in return, and getting scant comfort. But he came not multitudinous as at Cologne, where one end of the platform was dark with Anglican uniforms. The exemplary snubbing inflicted by von Schulte on Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, of Lincoln, after his beautiful Latin speech, so full of condensed unwisdom, so pregnant with bad advice unasked-for, had not been in vain, and the good man only sent his Ciceronian periods by mail; neither did his brother of Winchester appear except by letter. Only one Protestant bishop adorned the occasion, and he only an American. But it was impossible not to admire the tact and shrewdness with which this mission, to

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prevent further accidents, had been entrusted to a gentleman whose innocence of the German tongue guaranteed him against indiscretions, and restricted him to the safe course of sitting on the platform and looking dignified—a function which was fulfilled with great success.

The reason of this apparent falling-off in the interest of the Old Catholic Congress may lie partly in the fact that the movement has lost the charm of novelty; and that the intense expectation that kept great crowds on tiptoe for hours, at Munich and Cologne, is a little chilled by the failure of any such great popular developments as have formerly been prophesied and anticipated. But a greater part of the reason lies, doubtless, in the fact that the chief responsibility which rested on the earlier Congresses is now discharged by the completion of the Old Catholic church-organization. The burning questions which, in spite of all the repressive force of von Schulte's chairmanship, *would* flame up, every now and then, in the former meetings—the questions especially of celibacy and the confessional—now belong to the bishop and synod; and the "Congress" is mainly a popular meeting for good cheer and mutual acquaintance and public impression. Naturally, being intended for impression, it ceases to be impressive.

And yet the crowd that thronged the Festsaal of Freiburg this afternoon was a fine and stirring sight. It was a great hall, with theatrical scenery, stage and decorations at one end. Deep galleries stretch from one end of it to the other, hung with garlands and flags and patriotic inscriptions, indicating the heart and spring of this movement—that it is *German* a good deal more than it is

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theological or religious. I do not wonder that the French brethren found the atmosphere of the room uncomfortable. In the centre of the hall had been built a temporary platform and pulpit, and into the latter all the speakers went up successively.

The speaking, of course, cannot here be reported in detail. Almost every one of the speakers was, or had been, a University professor. Here lies the strength, and here also the weakness, of the Old Catholic movement. It is thus far a University movement and not a popular one. All the great church reformations have begun in the universities; but the really great ones have not stopped there. The tone of the speaking was completely and thoroughly Protestant. The uppermost topics were: the inalienable responsibility of the individual conscience; the duty of Bible-reading and of private judgment; the sole and sufficient Mediatorship of Christ between man and God. Besides these was a certain amount of buncombe and brag, and too much of acrimony and personality. But as for "Catholicity," in the sense of apostolical succession, orders in the ministry, "historical churches," and valid sacraments, you will hear more of it in any five minutes' talk of the Anglican lobby that hangs habitually about these German meetings, hankering after "recognition," than you will in three hours on a stretch of solid speech-making in an Old Catholic Congress.

The three days' doings were wound up by a closing speech from Professor von Schulte, which gave a summary of the work of the Congress. One paragraph was to our present point. It was an acknowledgment of the salutations which the Congress had received from other communions —letters from the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, a

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letter from a Greek priest (applause), the presence of the bishop of Pittsburgh in America (cheering, and the bishop, being nudged, bowed his acknowledgments), and a letter in behalf of the German Evangelicals (cheering renewed and continued). Somebody certainly ought to explain to Herr von Schulte and his colleagues that the sort of recognition which his Anglo-American friends are after is something different from being lumped in the same sentence with the German Presbyterians. Or else somebody ought to explain to Episcopalians generally at home, what they might fail to gather from their official correspondents, the exact amount and quality of the recognition thus far accorded to their special pretensions on the part of their Old Catholic brethren.

I must own that the impression made on my mind by the grand and animated assembly at the closing session at the Festsaal was weakened by two other meetings which I had already attended this same day. Strolling through the quaint old town, I stopped in the Franciskanerplatz, where an expressive statue of St. Francis looks down upon the fountain and the strange costumes of the market-women and the crowd of comers and goers, and where a row of beautifully traceried windows invites one to pace the length of the old convent cloister. Before us was a church door, and the sound of choir and organ made us pause and look in for a moment. There was high mass, and the large church was fairly filled with a congregation of rich and poor, men, women and children, in solemn worship. After observing for a moment we quietly withdrew and went on looking for the cathedral. We passed along the serried gables of the Kaiserstrasse till, glancing around a certain corner, suddenly that wonderful spire—nigh 300 feet of

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delicate lacework in stone—seemed to shoot up like a rocket into the sky. No cathedral I have yet seen makes on me such an impression of complete, harmonious beauty as that of Freiburg. It is almost the only one in Europe that has come down to us both finished and undamaged from its original builders. But it had to-day a special and excelling glory. As we drew near the great portal we could hear the gush of the organ, the thunderous roar of the kettle-drums, and the strings and brass of an orchestra, and above these a sweet, harmonious multitude of chanting voices. And when we entered, I saw, what I never yet had seen in any other cathedral, the whole vast area, choir, transepts, nave, filled with worshipers upon their knees. It is obvious that this city that has been chosen as the seat of the *Liberal* Catholic Congress is the seat of unusual earnestness and religious vitality among the *Roman* Catholics also. And as comparing the two, I could not but feel that the promise of the future was quite as likely to be with the multitude of these praying folk in the churches as with the speeches of the professors and the plaudits of the crowd at the Festsaal.

But let your readers remark the general fact that where the Roman system is purest and best, as in Germany, there the impulse for its reform is strongest; and that where it was most degraded, as in Italy, Spain and Spanish America, there all practical thought or hope of reforming it ceases from among its followers.

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XI.

CHRISTIAN UNION AT BONN.*

GENEVA, *September 25, 1874.*

The prevailing idea of Christian Union is that of uniting certain classes of Christians against certain other classes of Christians,—generally with the ulterior idea that if only such league can be made large enough and strong enough the Christians left outside can be either brought in or put down. I have my own reasons for doubting whether Catholic Unity will ever be arrived at by that road; which was a good reason for not going on to Bonn to see what was visible to the public of Dr. Döllinger's pocket convention for "the re-union of the churches." But then I have a great respect for all honest efforts for the healing of schism; which is reason enough for informing myself and the *Christian Union* as to the proceedings and results of the Bonn meeting.

The meeting was held simply on the invitation of Dr. Döllinger, addressed to certain individuals of his acquaintance in the Old Catholic, Greek, and Protestant

* From the *Christian Union*.

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Episcopalian churches. The object was to talk over the theological differences between these sects, and see whether a basis could be found, not for consolidation or confederation, but for mutual recognition. It is only just to the venerable Döllinger to say that his interest in this question of the possible bringing together of the fragments of divided Christendom is no new thing. It has been much in his thought and writings throughout his long and splendid career as a theologian. And yet one can not but see that his interest in it has been intensified and made practical by his new position as leader in a very circumscribed and not very numerous secession from the Roman Catholic Church. From that vast communion within which his whole life has revolved he finds himself and his colleagues excluded. It is both natural and right that they should reach out with craving for fellowship in some other direction.

Happily, they have not to reach very far toward the West to find another considerable sect, the Protestant Episcopalians, in just the same state of mind. These can hold no fellowship with their Protestant neighbors; and yet they have thus far miserably failed in their attempts to open relations of communion with anybody else. Naturally, these two bodies,—though representing schools of doctrine which have denounced each other for three centuries as *heretic* and *Antichrist*, and though pledged respectively to formularies each of which was expressly intended to contradict the other on points declared to be vital,—have no serious difficulty in coming to a good understanding. But when it is desired to add strength and dignity to the alliance by bringing in the seventy-five millions of the venerable and orthodox Greek Church,

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who are not in the least conscious of needing fellowship from outside, a serious difficulty at once arises. For (tell it not in Princeton; publish it not in the streets of Andover and New Haven; lest the daughters of the Presbyterian rejoice; lest the daughters of the Puritan triumph!) the Greek Church does not consider the Protestant Episcopalian to have any valid ordination! It allows he may be a very estimable sort of person, in his way, and may even be useful as a lay preacher, according to his light. But as for the genuine succession and valid sacraments—bless you! he has no more conception of these spiritual blessings than the most benighted Methodist or Quaker! This is the view which the Greeks generally take of the Protestant Episcopalian, whether English or American; and I submit that considering how much love has been spent by Episcopalians on the Greek hierarchy, and the honest pride with which they have so long boasted of their "organic connection" with the Eastern churches, it is not at all kind in the latter to disavow the relationship. At the same time it is a beautiful study in human nature to observe how Protestant Episcopalian clergymen take it, when told that they may be very good men but have no right to call themselves ministers. I judge from a slightly exasperated remark of Bishop Kerfoot that he did not like it; but I may be mistaken. In general, the English and American brethren seem to have shown praiseworthy meekness, when the Eastern clergymen, on being invited by Dr. Döllinger to adopt his proposition affirming the validity of the Anglican ordinations, replied that they would take it home and think about it. So then, the most vital question to the English and American Episcopal churches in this matter of the

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intercommunion of churches,—the question whether they themselves *are* churches at all—lies over till another year. Dr. Döllinger feels very sure that they are churches, and have, if not a first-rate, at least a pretty fair article of apostolical succession. But some of the most eminent of the Old Catholics have expressed to me, privately, their serious doubts on that score, and quite derided the idea of resorting to the Anglicans for the consecration of a bishop. It is very desirable that this question, on which the hope of salvation of many of our fellow-citizens turns, should be authoritatively settled. It is a great pity, and excessively annoying to the High Church party, to have it lying so at loose ends for a whole year to come.

Another of the subjects brought forward by Dr. Döllinger was that of the new Roman doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. This he proposed to condemn, not merely as unauthoritative, but as false. A young Roman Catholic from England, who was present by some accident which it will be well for him to explain the next time he goes to confession, begged in vain that such a declaration, tending to hinder any future fellowship with conscientious Ultramontane Christians, might not be made. It was obvious that he did not understand the true nature of a Christian Union platform—that it is a contrivance to *exclude* certain sorts of Christians; and the brethren intended to be shut out by this little arrangement are Ultramontane Catholics and non-Episcopalian Protestants.

I need not dwell in detail on the course which the rest of the twelve propositions followed. It is clear enough that the discussion was mainly a renewal of that old theological game in which doctors holding opposite views

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amuse themselves with contriving forms of language in which they can unite without agreeing. For instance, on the capital point of the *filioque* in the Creed—the procession of the Holy Spirit "from the Son"—there were two parties present, those who believed it to be a true doctrine but inserted in the Creed without authority, and those who believed it to be both unauthorized and a flat heresy. The proposition declaring the insertion of the phrase to have been unauthorized, without disparagement to the truth contained in it, was made acceptable to all by amending it to the effect—"the truth which *may be* contained in it," or may not be. Other topics presented were: the authority of the Scriptures and of tradition; justification by faith; works of supererogation; the sacraments; confession; prayers for the dead; and the sacrifice in the Lord's Supper.

Doubtless such consultations as this at Bonn are not altogether useless, when carried on, as this seems to have been, in a good spirit. But I cannot attach to this meeting the importance which some of my friends who were there attribute to it. And this for several reasons, in brief:

1. Because the agreement attained is only apparent.

2. Because even this result, attained by a few select members of several sects, cannot carry their sects with them—as Bishop Kerfoot would doubtless find if he were to try introducing the Bonn theses as a series of resolutions in his General Convention.

3. Doctrinal variations have been only a part, and perhaps not the largest part, of the causes producing and maintaining the schisms.

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4. If Christian Union, on the favorite plan of uniting certain Christians to the exclusion of certain other Christians, were carried to its highest conceivable success, and Christendom were consolidated at last into two mutually exclusive sects, we should be worse off and farther away from real Christian union than we are now.

5. The basis of Catholic unity—the platform, or rather the rock, on which the Church Catholic, the communion of saints, is built—is not dogma, but faith.

6. The hopeful way out of the practical difficulties of schism, especially in America, is not that of diplomacy among doctors of divinity of various sects, but that which begins at the other end with seeking a way of reconciling local sectarian divisions in little villages. I believe that the Episcopal church in America, if it only knew its own mission, has some grand advantages for this work. If it could rid itself of sundry canons that bind it hand and foot, abate a little of that high and and mighty tone which is so apt to make people smile, and apply to such a ministry of reconciliation one half of the energy now expended in fomenting local schisms at home, and in begging for recognition and Christian union at the ends of the earth, it might do a great thing for itself, and a greater thing for American Christianity, and make all other Christian communions grateful to it in spite of themselves.

The *personnel* of the meeting was respectable. The only notable representatives of Anglican theology were Bishop Harold Browne, Dean Howson, and Canon Liddon, but these were certainly enough. But the meeting mainly consisted of Dr. Döllinger, whose

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octogenarian vigor, complete command of every controversy involved, and polyglot readiness in acting both as chairman and as interpreter for discussion between speakers of different languages, were the theme of everybody's wonder.

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XII.

ON FORCING JESUS TO BE KING.

A SERMON AGAINST STATE INTERFERENCE WITH RELIGION, AND IN FAVOR OF THE SUNDAY LAWS.

NOTE.

At a meeting in the Maryland Institute, Baltimore, March 11, 1872, which was "attended by an immense concourse," the following resolutions, having been read in the German and English languages, "were adopted without a dissenting vote:"

Resolved, That we consider Sunday as a day of rest and restoration—of rest from all work not absolutely necessary, and of restoration of body and mind from six days' labor.

Resolved, That in the country in which religious liberty is constitutionally warranted, every man must be allowed to keep his own mind and heart.

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Resolved, That the application of force against a large number of citizens who consider Sunday as a day of restoration is a violation of rights warranted by the Constitution of the land which ought to be abolished without hesitation.

Resolved, That we, in consideration of prevailing prejudice, consent to a closing of places of entertainment until 1 o'clock P.M. on Sunday, but that from that hour we claim our indisputable right of keeping our day of restoration according to our own inclinations, for we wish neither to disturb nor be disturbed.

Resolved therefore, That according to our views, at 1 P.M. on Sunday every place of amusement may be opened, and that by the term "place of amusement" we mean to signify inns, restaurants, concert gardens and saloons, cigars and confectionery stores, mineral water stands, theatres and the like.

Resolved, That in order to enhance public morals *the person who is intoxicated* or conducts himself *improperly*, should be subject to the punishment, and not the licensed man of business whose interest it naturally is to do as extensive a business as possible. "Punish the slave of passion, not the business!" this principle, acknowledged by the French and German Legislatures, ought to be introduced into this country.

Resolved, That the observation of Sunday is a social institution which is connected with religion by sheer accident. As a religious institution Sunday is a despotic measure, which imposes an observance also upon the Israelite, who observes the seventh day, and to the Mohammedan, who celebrates Friday as his day of rest, while by the Constitution of the United States no religious sect has a right to impose its religious tenets upon society at large.

Rerolved, That these resolutions be laid before the present Legislature of Maryland with a petition that said body modify the Sunday laws so as to grant that all places of amusement be allowed to be opened on Sunday from and after 1 o'clock P.M.

The above resolutions provoked replies from many of the Baltimore pulpits and among them the following Sermon, preached in the Congregational Church on March 17th, and published at the time in a pamphlet.

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JOHN VI, 15. When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force to make him a king, he departed again into a mountain himself alone.

At the outset of all our inquiries on the question now pending before the public of the State of Maryland, let us lay down this axiom, that *Law cannot enforce Religion;*— not ought not, or had better not, but, absolutely and utterly, cannot. It may compel conformity and uniformity in outward rites. It may offer inducements which shall persuade men to hypocrisy. But religion is a thing beyond the sphere not only of its proper action, but of its possible action. All the help which it can offer to religion by the exhibition of rewards and penalties is only a hindrance and a hurt, and no help at all. Therefore it is in the name of *religion*, and for the sake of its purity and true prosperity, that we protest against all meddling by the State, however well intended, with pure questions of religious faith and worship. It hurts true religion to be assisted by force.

I do not deny that there are other valid grounds on which to object to such interference. It is perfectly competent for citizens in their political assemblies and through their political organs to object to it on principles of political philosophy, as being detrimental to the State. But here I am speaking as a Christian, and I have a far graver protest against it, as being detrimental to the Church and Kingdom of Jesus Christ. His Kingdom is not of this world; else would his servants fight for it— else would they caucus and intrigue and vote and legislate for it—acts which have no significance except as they imply enforcement by fighting in the last resort. The "kingdom which is not of this world," is sustained by far

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other influences. That kingdom is realized when "they that are of the truth hear the voice" of him who is The Truth, and freely obey and follow him. But when men would "come and take Jesus by force and make him king," before they are aware of it he has departed from among them. It has been tried often enough, and has there ever been any other result?

The principle applies without limitation to all methods of legislation—that is, application of public force—for the advancement of religion, whether in the gross old-fashioned form of the establishment of a sect or church, or the more absurd modern European form of the establishment of many sects at once, or the newer device of a religious amendment to the Constitution, not intended for practical use, but only to look well; or the method of subsidies to promote religious education by certain sects; or the enforcement of a modicum of religious education by the State in its own schools. It is perfectly competent for statesmen and publicists to argue that such things are good for the State, that they add to its dignity and stability, that they improve the qualifications of the citizen both as subject of law and as maker and sustainer of law. But when all this has been said, the conclusive answer remains that however good such a course may be for the State, it is bad for the Church. The Church of Christ cannot afford to grant to the State the privilege of patronizing it.

The same axiom, already applied so far, applies still further and conspicuously to laws intended to procure the *sanctification* (mark the word!) of a Sabbath-day. "Force cannot make a day holy. Acts of legislatures and of common councils may make a day silent, and keep it

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quiet; but they cannot keep it holy; and perhaps they will discover that they can keep it quiet only for a little while. Holiness is a thing of liberty, not a thing of force. If the observance of the Lord's day is to be a holy observance it must be a free observance. If men 'come to take Jesus by force and make him a king,' he will withdraw himself alone. The service which is acceptable in his sight must be a reasonable service, a willing service."[1] Without this, all that the law can do, is to produce, under the garb of a constrained decorum, such "new moons, and Sabbaths, and appointed feasts" as God's "soul hateth; they are a trouble to him; he is weary to bear them."

Let us come, then, promptly, unshrinkingly, not as if dragged along at the heels of a hostile argument, to the only conclusion to which our principles can possibly lead, that *considered as a religious institution*—a quasi-sacrament—the keeping of a Sabbatical day cannot, in the nature of the case, be enforced by law; and that attempted legislation to compel the santification of such a day is necessarily futile and impertinent, and worse. It is of a piece with other legislation for the enforcement of religious rites—with compulsory baptism, and the eating of the Lord's Supper as a condition of holding office—things which it is shocking so much as to name.

Now all this would be true of the relation of secular law to the sanctification of a Sabbath-day as a religious act, even if it were admitted to be a religious duty by the universal consent of all religions. But much more than this is true when we consider that the particular

1. Sermons on the Sabbath Question; by George B. Bacon. New York, *Scribner & Co.*

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Sabbatical observance in question is the characteristic of the Christian religion—that it is expressly intended to commemorate an event and a doctrine which some good citizens (alas!) deny and abhor, and to which some others (more pity still!) are indifferent. In what essential respect does the compelling of the Jew to keep holy—to pay religious honor to—the memorial day of the resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, differ in iniquity from the compelling of the Protestant to uncover and kneel in the street at the passing of the Host? When we reflect, further, that Christians themselves are not unanimous in regarding the observance of this day at all as a duty enjoined by divine law, but that a great portion of them, including some of the best, most devout and most learned, regard it only as an excellent custom and tradition,[1] it becomes not indeed more true, but more obvious and palpable, that there are no principles acknowledged in our government, or justly acknowledged in any government, which can justify the legal enforcement of the *religious* observance of the day, or authorize the legislature to deal with the secularization of the day as being of itself, and independently of positive law, an immorality.

This is the end of that argument. Until we are prepared to advocate the establishment of religion, and not only of religion but of Christianity, and not only of Christianity but of certain forms and sects of Christianity, we cannot advocate the enforcement of the religious observance of a Sabbath as a matter of public morality.

II. We come, then, to consider another ground on

1. Those who would inform themselves as to the history of Christian theology on this point, as indeed on all points related to the present subject, are referred to that exhaustive work, Cox's "Literature of the Sabbath Question."

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which the interference of law is claimed in behalf of the Lord's Day as a religious institution. If the law may not be summoned to *enforce* a religious observance, may it not be called on to *protect* it? Undoubtedly, yes. The principles of religious equity, or liberty, not only do not forbid this, they require it. If an Arab traveler should spread his carpet down in Monument Square at the hour of noon, and finding the direction of Mecca, should begin his curious ritual of prostrations and crouchings, it would be the duty of the police to protect him from molestation and annoyance. If there were a company of such, they would have an equal right to be protected in their devotions, a right limited only by their duty not to perform them in such places as to incommode the honest business of others, or to disturb the public peace and order. If. this were a heathen city, amid which the Christian people were but a little flock, marked among the multitude for their regular habit of gathering on the first day of the week for their acts of worship, it woud be their right to be protected in this religious usage; and to molest them in their quiet Sunday meditation and worship and abstinence from work would be religious persecution. And now that they are the great dominant religion of the city, they have the same right, no more and no less—the right to be *protected* in the fulfilment of their religious duties. The fact that they are more numerous and stronger does not add to their rights, it only makes it easier for them to secure the rights they had before. Might does not *make* Right.

The claim is perfectly good as far as it goes, but when it is stretched beyond this point it is good for nothing. When you undertake to make this right to be *protected* in religious observances the ground and basis of the Sabbath

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laws, you have got your basis quite too small for your superstructure. When you set up the claim that in order that you may worship God in spirit and in truth, your Jewish neighbor on one side, and your Rationalist neighbor on the other, must both be compelled by law to suspend their secular avocations, you stretch your claim of protection till it breaks. You make a law of religious liberty which is singularly akin to religious persecution. It is worthy of note that almost the only wanton public obstructions and interruptions of the liberty of Christian worship in this country have proceeded, not from an unchristian or anti-christian quarter, but from the arrogance of one of the Christian sects, conscious of a political influence which enables it to defy the law, and not ashamed to obstruct the doors of other churches by its processions, and drown the voice of prayer with the din of shouts and brazen music beneath their windows. This is an invasion of religious liberty. But the pretense that shops and billiard rooms must be closed in order to secure liberty of worship to Christians, is so thin that it is transparent.

Do we then give up the whole system of the Sunday laws, and yield to the demand that is now so boldly pressed upon the Legislature of the State for the repeal of all that makes them effective? God forbid! Yea, we establish the law. Nothing has so imperiled it as the false and insincere and inconclusive arguments by which it has been attempted to maintain it. Its enemies have not done it half the harm that its defenders have. It is only the beginning of a successful defense to abandon an untenable line of works and fall back, or move forward, rather, upon an impregnable one. It is by far the most important

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thing to be done in protection of our Sabbath institution, to eliminate from the pending discussion the irrelevances and impertinences with which it has been cumbered. We are free, now, to come to a sober argument upon the duty of the Legislature.

III. The question before the Legislature, and therefore before the public, their constituents, is upon the maintenance, not of a religious institution;—the church (that is, the Christian people) will take care of this; the legislature has nothing to do with it;—but of a civil and "social institution." "I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word!" It is the one useful truth that appears, clumsily enough stated, in all that series of self-stultified resolutions which were passed a week ago in the Anti-Sabbath meeting, "*Resolved* that the observation of Sunday is a social institution, which is connected with religion," *I* will not say "by sheer accident," but by no necessary connection. If God were to smite the earth with a curse, and all religion were to perish out of the land to-morrow, this legal institution would still remain, though probably it would not remain long. But what word would have to be altered in all the present Sunday law of the State, if religion were utterly to cease? What word is there in all that statute, that is inconsistent, I will not say with the principle of religious liberty as we have here enunciated them, but even with the principles enunciated in the resolutions of that Monday Meeting?

Now how is this civil and social day of weekly rest to be procured. Every body wants it; nobody thinks of giving it up. Even that curiously mingled meeting gathered to clamor for a repeal of the existing law, resolved "without a dissenting voice" that "we consider

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Sunday as a day of rest." It does not appear that any, Christian or Heathen, Jew or Gentile, is willing to give up a weekly day of rest, and make all days alike before the law. Nay it does not appear but that society is absolutely unanimous in agreeing upon the first day of the week as the only day which, in the present state of our society can be secured for that purpose. We do not hear, even from our Hebrew fellow-citizens—a class of citizens who have many a peculiar claim on the public respect, for many admirable virtues, and for a noble record in some points of civil duty—a class, withal, to whom the adoption of the first day of the week instead of the seventh as the civil Sabbath, involves a special disadvantage—we do not hear even from these any suggestion that any day but Sunday should be set apart by law as a day of rest. Society seems unanimously resolved that it will have its Sunday.

And no wonder. On the institution of the civil Sabbath, reinforced as it is by the religious feeling of the mass of the community, depends no man can tell how much of our material prosperity, our social order, our prevailing culture, to say nothing of our religious worship and our public charity and humanity. It is on the institution of the public Sabbath, planting its frequent waymarks along the course of time, that we depend for the division of time into weeks; and how much of the general thrift, activity and regularity of business depends on this, no man can guess, that has not seen, in lands without a Sabbath, how business drags on its dull, unbroken, interminable course, never resting, and therefore never speeding. So interlaced are the roots of this "social institution" with the whole fabric of our American society, that it could not be torn

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up without disturbing the entire structure. Thoughtful foreigners acknowledge the advantages of this institution in words which those men would do well to ponder, who are in a hurry to tamper with its safeguards. The illustrious Count de Montalembert, the glory of the Catholic Church of France in his generation, in advocating in the French Legislative Body, some twenty years since, a bill to secure the better observance of the Lord's Day, answered the cavils of the materialists and economists that the nation could not afford to suspend all productive labor for one seventh part of the year, by pointing to Great Britain and the United States of America, the two countries of all the world in which the Sabbath rest is most rigorously enforced, and the two in which all productive industries are most prosperous.[1]

Society is agreed then that it will have its Sunday of rest. But how is Society to get it? Will it come of itself? Will the unanimous consent of the people that the day should be kept free from the encroachments of business, be a sufficient security for it, without law? Just as much as the unanimous agreement of the property owners on Baltimore Street would, without law, preserve the line of the street from encroachments—just so much and no more. It is the general interest of the whole property and every part of it, on both sides of the way, that the width of that street should not be reduced. You could get a unanimous remonstrance from every person in the city against an act making it possible for the owners

1. I quote from my memory of the debate as reported in the French newspapers of the time. The only answer made to this argument of the Catholic Count was a cry from the opposite benches "These are two Protestant countries,"—which was undoubtedly true, and perhaps embarrassing to the speaker, but, after all, not much to the purpose.

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of frontage on that street to build out on it a single yard. What is the need of law, then, to protect the line of that street? And yet is there any one so dull as not to know that it is only by the force of law that the object of the unanimous desire can be secured?—that but for the law, encroachment would follow encroachment, the encroachment of one excusing and necessitating the encroachment of his neighbor, until the great thoroughfare was choked, and the interest of the whole had been defeated by the selfishness of the individuals? It is so with the great common rest opened in the midst of the toil of the week, like the village green reserved for public refreshment and delight amid the bustling streets of a New England village, sacred from the invasion of business, where the children of the rich and poor may play alike, where the sacred graves of other generations wake tender thoughts and holy memories, and amongst them the church of Christ invites to prayer and praise, "and points with taper spire to heaven." The whole people wants it; everybody is willing to reserve it, on condition that the rest shall be required to reserve it too. Only, if there is to be no law about it, and these immemorial rights of the public are to be left open to a general scramble, in which the earliest squatter on the public privilege will get the biggest share, then it is too much to hope from human nature that the scramble will not begin.

We reach, then, this clear and unmistakable principle —that THE LIBERTY OF REST FOR EACH MAN DEPENDS UPON A LAW OF REST FOR ALL.

It has been found, in the course of the agitations of "the Sunday question" which have prevailed so sharply of late in England that there is rarely any difficulty in

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getting the general petition of the men of any business—the barbers for instance—that all the shops of their own business may be closed on Sunday by law. Why by law? If nearly all the barbers in London want their shops closed, why don't they close them? Simply because the opening of any half-dozen of them almost necessitates the opening of the rest. There is no Liberty of Rest without a Law of Rest. It is for the State to say whether it is consistent with the public good to grant the privilege of rest, by law, to this vocation, or whether, like the business of physicians, or of the employees of the city rail-road, it is of such a nature as to require to be excepted from this privilege.

This "social institution," then, of a public day of rest, which we are all agreed that we want and will have, is the creature of positive law. And what the law creates the law can regulate. The moment that the authors of these resolutions admit that they want any Sunday rest at all, that they are not in favor of sweeping the statute-book clean of all distinction of days and making every day, alike, they give up their whole case.

If it is right, and just, and constitutional, and consistent with *religious liberty* to have any Sunday at all, it is right to have a whole Sunday, If it is constitutional to shut up a dry-goods store, it is constitutional to shut up a grog-shop. If it is right to shut up a broker's office, or a bank, it is right to shut up a theatre. If it is right to close a book-store, it is right to close a billiard room. If it is right to shut any of these till one o'clock, it is right to keep them shut till midnight.

Why, look for at moment at the blockhead impudence of these resolutions. It appears that they were translated

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into English for the benefit of those in that meeting that were acquainted with the English tongue. The translation was not well done. Let me render them into a little plainer English:

1. *Resolved*, That this meeting being largely composed of aliens and foreign-born citizens more or less unacquainted with the language in which the Constitutions and Laws are written are unanimously agreed that the immemorial laws made by the people who made the Constitution are unconstitutional.

2. *Resolved*, That since these laws are unconstitutional, and therefore null and void, and incapable of being enforced, it is very important to our liberty that they should be repealed by the legislature.

3. *Resolved*, That although is it grossly unjust, oppressive, unconstitutional, and inconsistent with religious liberty to make any man shut up his store at all; nevertheless we advocate a law requiring that stores, shops and places of business of every sort shall be closed every Sunday until one o'clock P.M.

4. *Resolved*, That although we hold it to be unjust and unconstitutional, we are further in favor of interdicting by law the exercise of all ordinary honest and useful trades and employments from one o'clock P.M., till midnight. But—

5. *Resolved*, That in view of the strong claims upon the special and exceptional favor of the State, presented by liquor-shops, theatres, bar-rooms, concert-saloons, dance-houses, and the like, as promoters of sound morality, material prosperity, public intelligence, domestic happiness, and peace and good order in society, they ought to be specially privileged by Act of Legislature

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above all other forms of business, by having the time from one P.M. till midnight on Sunday of each week set apart for their exclusive advantage and behoof, no commercial business within those hours being lawful, excepting the retail trade in beer, whisky and cigars.

Pah! the whole movement smells of its birth-place! It has the stale bar-room odor of bad whisky and tobacco.

But glance for an instant at the proposition in another aspect. Have the employees of all these privileged forms of business no rights of rest which we are bound to respect? Is there to be do respite to their wasting, dissipating labor? To permit one theatre to open is, as we have seen, to compel them all to open, and to make this privileged day the busiest day, for them, of all the week? Have we no mercy on the toilsome profession of the stage, that we should forbid to its jaded followers the common privilege of the public?

These be brave reformers, protesting against arbitrary distinctions! What law have we now so arbitrary, capricious, despotic, as this which they present to us in the name of equal rights? By what principle do they discriminate? If beer-shops may open, why not fancy stores? If the shop-boy must have his billiards and his cigars, may not the shop-girl have her ribbon, and her brooch, and the dear delight of shopping? By what tyrannical distinction do your forbid our Hebrew fellow-citizens, now bearing with such honorable fidelity the burden of a double Sabbath, to open their shops of fancy wares? and if these, why not others? and why not turn our tranquil Sunday, the glory of Baltimore among the cities of the land, into a universal market day?

No, gentlemen of the Legislature! If you accept this

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petition, call your enactment by its true name! Let it be an act entitled An Act to give Special Privilege and Encouragement to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors, and Special Advantages in Business to those who have no religious regard for the Christian Sabbath.

A public holiday is a public peril. A necessity it may be,—it is; but the history of all nations shows it to be a dangerous necessity. The State which by positive enactment institutes this dangerous blessing, striking off all the common restraints of regular industry, is bound to guard it to the utmost from abuse. It has no right with one hand to lock the door of the factory against honest industry, and turn the artisan population into the street, and with the other hand to fling wide all the enticing portals of temptation. Wives and mothers who tremble now when New Year's morning dawns, in fear lest at night those whom they love shall be tumbled in upon them through the street door, drunk—have a righteous claim upon the State that it shall not make fifty-two such holidays in the year, nor loose the iron band of industry without tightening the rein of salutary law. The great productive and commercial industries of the State have rights in this matter. They know the financial loss there is in a disordered Sabbath; and they may well take their resolute stand at the door of the State-house, and demand, in a tone not to be disregarded, that if the State interferes to take their employees out of business on Saturday night, it shall also interfere to save them from being returned to business on Monday morning, exhausted, demoralized, debauched.

In pointing out the duty of the State in this matter, we need not go beyond the formula of the merest

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Benthamite utilitarianism: the State must consult the Greatest Good of the Greatest Number.

Where shall it find the people's Greatest Good? In frolic and gaiety—in concerts, dancing and theatricals—in unrestricted beer, whisky and billiards? We would refer these profound students of the Constitution to the clauses in which that instrument shows in what esteem the State holds Religion as a public good. Here is all that Religion asks of the State—to give her a fair chance—just an opportunity; and this is all that the State can do for her. She stands beside the State as Paul, the chained Apostle, stood beside the Roman governor upon the castle stairs, while underneath the people cried "Away with him,"—and said to the chief captain "I beseech thee, suffer me to speak to the people." She asks for an interval of silence, amid the tumult and roar of this busy throng, that people may hear in their own tongue the wonderful works of God; for one quiet day of sober thought, in which men may, if they will, hear the voice of wisdom lifted in the streets, and crying to the simple ones. She asks no privilege above infidelity and error. She bids them welcome to the same opportunity,—to open their halls and circles, and bring forth their strong reasons before the public. Religion does not fear the result. The thoughtful verdict of a sober people on that issue never has been doubtful. For shame, Infidelity! You dare not meet the Church of God before a sober people on a quiet Sunday! You are skulking from the encounter behind this rabble-rout of greedy rum-sellers and showmen! You have appealed from Philip sober to Philip drunk—if you can make him drunk!

And the good of the Greatest Number—how is this to

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be attained? Would you have an example of how to deal with this question in the spirit of the broadest republican equality? Seek it in the terms of that ancient statute-book, which from an antiquity of more than three thousand years before the Declaration of Independence, presents to us still the fairest pages in the history of jurisprudence:—"In it thou shall not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy manservant, nor thy maidservant nor thy ox, nor thy ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; *that thy manservant and maidservant may rest as well as thou.*" In the very spirit of this just and equal law is that existing law of Maryland which provides a Sabbath for the whole people;—which interferes with no man's religious convictions, either to violate them or to enforce them; but without respect of persons imposes for a few sacred hours on all the stormy competitions of the week,—on its grinding toil, its heady passions, its noisy amusements, the blessed Truce of God.

It is the remark of no religious zealot, but of one of the coolest and shrewdest observers of practical politics, Horace Greeley, in one of his letters from Europe, that we are shut up to the choice between the Puritan Sabbath and the Parisian Sabbath. Shall we halt long between the two? Is the legislature sitting in Annapolis, or likely to sit there any time this century, that will venture to vote away the birthright of this people—the universal equal privilege of rich and poor—and substitute for it that miserable French delusion, a Parisian holiday, through which half the people are condemned to toil, that the other half may frolic?

Let us watch, and see!

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XII.

CHURCH AND THEATRE.*

A SERMON ON THEATRES AND THEATRE-GOING.

ROMANS, XIV., 5. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.

A recent incident in the city of New York, occasioned by the funeral of an aged actor, has given rise to a great deal of talk in all parts of the country, and made a certain "little church around the corner" of Twenty-Ninth Street and Fifth Avenue, New York, famous in all the newspapers.

* Preached in Baltimore, January 22, 1871, and published in a pamphlet with the following Prefatory Note.

The author of the following sermon apologizes to the public for the absence, on this page, of the customary letter from eminent citizens asking a copy of the "able and interesting discourse" for the press, and the customary reply assuring them that it was "hastily prepared without the slightest view to publication." Not having been preached with the hope that anybody would be pleased with it, it is natural enough that the sermon should have to be printed without anybody's having requested it. It was written for the purpose of administering certain richly and long-deserved rebukes to many classes of persons both inside of the church and outside; and for the same purpose it is printed. Of course it would be idle for one who volunteers for such a task to grumble if his work is not welcomed. The author will be content not to be thanked, if only he may be heeded.

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The incident is chiefly interesting to us as bringing into court again that old case of the Pulpit *vs.* the Stage,—the Church against the Theatre, which has been litigated now for nearly eighteen hundred years, and does not seem, even yet, to have been fully adjudicated. And here, having taken advantage of an incident of no lasting interest to introduce a subject of constant and general importance, we might be content to say nothing of the merits of the incident. But if any are interested to hear an opinion of them, it is soon given. The friends of an aged actor, deceased, against whom I hear nothing alleged but that he *was* an actor, applied to the rector of a certain church to conduct funeral services for the old man, at the church. He declined on the sole ground, as I understand, of the dead man's profession, and referred the applicants to the rector of a "little church around the corner," by whom, and at whose church, the funeral was attended. The consequence is, that the minister who shirked his duty is thoroughly roasted in all the newspapers, at which I am very glad; and the minister who did not shirk his duty is made the object of testimonials in all the theatres, to which I certainly have not any objection—if he has not. He is said to be so good and faithful a man that one can't think of grudging him overpraise and overpay, for a duty so obvious and simple that it is almost incredible that any Christian minister could have refused it. As for the unfortunate person in the pillory, there seems nothing to be said in mitigation of the public judgment against him —that is, supposing the facts to be as represented. He appears before the public as one perfectly willing that the scandal against the church (if it be one) should be enacted, provided it is done by his brother around the

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corner, and *his* name does not get mixed up with it. He stands, not only as one "judging another's servant," but as enforcing against an individual a sweeping condemnation which he has passed in his own mind, upon a profession which he would not dare deliberately to say was *necessarily* a criminal one. He seems to shut out from his church a solemn religious service, on the ground that it will be attended by a throng of ungodly and unbelieving people—as if he had come to call the righteous to repentance. If he feels some burden of warning and reproof for the people who seek his ministrations, why, in God's name, doesn't he speak it out to them, like a man, and like a good, kind, loving man, instead of running away like Jonah? If he pleads that he is shut up, by the rules of his denomination, to a burial service which he cannot conscientiously use except over the graves of the truly penitent and believing, that is a matter for him to see to as promptly as may be; but meanwhile, it were better he should practice his scruples on his own pewholders, whose sins he knows about, before putting them in force in the case of an old man not well befriended within the church, and belonging to a profession whom it is easy and safe for a clergyman to dislike. Let him deny the full honors of Christian burial, if he has the courage, to those who patronize and sustain, for their sheer amusement, that profession in which he cannot endure that others should labor toilsomely, even for their daily bread. And withal, it were not amiss that he should consider with what grace this little spurt of zeal for God's house comes from a clergy which is so constantly and assiduously, and without one word of protest, courting recognition and fellowship from a National Church whose

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"sole head under Christ" is the public and official patroness of the theatre; whose cathedrals are paved with the grave-stones of actors, and whose Westminster Abbey insults or corrupts the moral sense of successive generations by displaying, among its saints and heroes, the monument of one of the filthiest of the filthy dramatists of the Restoration, with an eulogy upon his virtues (forsooth!) which should make the very marble on which it is carved to blush!

So, if you want my opinion on this reported transaction, I do not at all undertake to decide on the truth of the report, neither do I judge the motives of the parties involved, but separating the act from the actor, it seems to me a disgusting piece of Pharisaism—what Frederick Robertson was wont to stigmatize as "the dastardly condemnation of the weak for sins that are venial in the strong;" what a greater than Robertson—his Master and mine—used to denounce with woe upon woe; and what, as I would be faithful to my Lord's example, I hope to strike at with such strength as I have, as often as it shall come within striking distance.

To come back now to my main subject—the duty of the church and of Christian people with reference to the theatre—this text, "let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind," is the very text that fits the case. For on this question of duty, people are the furthest possible from being clearly convinced in their own reason. Whether the course of action commonly agreed upon be right or wrong, it is true that most of us do not see the right and wrong of it. The church is living in this matter on certain traditions of the elders, and just in proportion as it is inwardly conscious how much its canons of duty lack

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authority, it proceeds to enforce obedience to them by mutual censoriousness—a sort of government of Mrs. Grundy. In exactly the same proportion, it grows Pharisaic, its members themselves evading the traditionary canons, in the authority of which they only half believe, and combining to bind heavy burdens for other men's shoulders, which they themselves will not touch with one of their fingers. These transgressions of the conventional rule of church-memberly virtue are not talked of much among the brotherhood; they are held to be of very doubtful propriety themselves, but on one point there is felt to be no doubt, and that is, that it is eminently desirable to keep the facts hushed up, so that the salutary but somewhat vague impression in the religious community that going to theatres is wicked may be kept up to the utmost. The whole subject is in the worst possible position. It is just in the position in which men are most apt to be tempted into doing doubtful things, in the doing of which they are condemned before God and their own consciences, because they do them doubting. I do not believe the theatre could be one half so demoralizing, at its worst estate, if all men were going to it without thought of scruple, as it is now when men are only half deterred from it by a doubtful scruple, founded on the tradition of the elders, into the right or wrong of which few persons trouble themselves deliberately to inquire, and then conscientiously to determine, and frankly, openly, manfully to act. Set this down at the outset as one point settled by the word of God beyond all reopening or appeal —that however the general question may be settled, *your* theatre-going, my Christian brother, which you only do now and then when you are away from home, and which

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you would be very sorry indeed to have talked about, is a sin against God, and you ought to be ashamed of it, and I have no doubt you are.

I propose that we shall know our own reasons in this matter, by re-examining the grounds of the traditionary argument under which the church at large are professing to act.

1. We must acknowledge in the first place that some of the objections to the theatre which prevailed two generations, or even one generation ago, are now in some cases either entirely done away or very much modified. The abominable accessories of the theatre which old writers, and recent writers who depend on the old for their ideas, inveigh against as inseparable from the theatre itself, *have been* separated from it. I mean the solicitations to drunkenness on the premises of the theatre, the deliberate provision for the admission of lewd women to certain parts of the house, the arrangement of the building to encourage and facilitate vice; all these have been done away, at least in many cases. Dr. Vaughan, a recent eminent English traveller in the United States, remarks on the difference of construction of an American theatre in this respect from an English one. A veteran officer of the New York police, who had known the theatres of that city before and behind the scenes from his boyhood, assured me of the marked change that had taken place in the administration of theatres in his own day, and that in almost all, if not in all, of the theatres of that city it was as difficult for improper characters to gain admisssion as in any places of amusement whatever.

The universally infamous character of the plays represented, and of the actors representing them, was

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one of the counts in the old indictment against the stage; and it was one on which it was impossible to help convicting. Down almost till within the memory of men now living, the collection of the stock acting plays of the English stage was an absolute dung-hill of filth and wickedness. If you would get some idea of it, consult Sir Walter Scott's History of the Drama,[1] or Lord Macaulay's criticism of the dramatists of the Restoration, or his remarks on the polite literature of that period in the second volume of the History of England. But, no! you can get no idea of it from description. You would have to turn over the reeking pages of some series of volumes labelled "Old Plays," and the knowledge you would get would not pay you for the defiling of your hands. And this, with some mitigations in favor—I will not say of virtue, but of conventional decency—has continued to be the prevailing tone of stage literature down, almost, to our own day. But is there any justice in applying to the acting drama of our day the epithets which were perfectly just so lately as when William Wilberforce wrote his "Practical View?" Have we no language but that of denunciation and contempt for a literature to which Sir Edward Lytton has contributed his superb historical picture of Richelieu, and that great scholar, the late Dean Milman of St. Paul's Cathedral, his drama of the Italian Wife, and which, by translation or adaptation, has been enriched from the master-pieces of Schiller and Dickens and Charles Reade? By personal knowledge I know almost nothing—less perhaps, than, as a public instructor, I ought to know—of the stage. But, for ten years past, I have been a pretty constant

1. Encyclopædia Britannica, s. v. *Drama.*

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observer of theatrical advertisements and dramatic criticisms in the New York press, and I recognize, with thankful satisfaction, that, alongside of another tendency, which I will speak of by-and-by, there has been a growing tendency to the production of a class of plays of domestic interest and faultless purity—like those derived from the stories of Charles Dickens. How far these may be deformed by bad acting, I have no knowlege; but it must take a very ingeniously vicious player to make the representation of "Little Nell" and the "Cricket on the Hearth" anything but wholesome and humanizing—and Christianizing.

I have shown that some of the traditionary objections to the theatre are either obsolete or very much modified.

2. I propose now to show that some of the traditionary arguments concerning the theatre are fallacious.

Some of these it is well to touch lightly, as being too frail to bear severer handling. The argument, for instance, that the drama is instrinsically unfitted to please a superior mind, is best advanced by those who have never known of such earnest admirers of the stage as (for example) Walter Scott and Sergeant Talfourd. The complaint that the general run of acting is sad ranting and fustian is as true now as ever, I am afraid—and is likely to continue so. The common run of any sort of human work will always be very poor as compared with the best. And it is to be feared that the best acting will never be the most popular with the crowd. It is so in literature. Mr. Everett had no sort of success in the "*Ledger*" compared with Mr. Sylvanus Cobb. And some of us preachers, whose congregations are not large, have been known to comfort ourselves with the thought that it is

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somewhat thus with preaching, too, and that the best preacher does not always have the largest audience. It is obvious enough that these little side arguments have no force at all. Let us come at once to the main argument in the case, as it is earnestly pressed on the consciences of the Christian public by some of the best and worthiest writers on Christian morality. It stands in this wise: theatrical amusements are apt to do great harm, and they are not necessary to us: therefore, we ought totally to abstain from them. Now there is no doubt that, at the time when good men first put forth this argument, the *conclusion* was perfectly just—the only conclusion to which any decent Christian man in those times could possibly have come. But it concerns us a good deal, when the same argument is presented to us in other circumstances, to look, not only at the conclusion, but at the process by which it is reached. Now, will anybody coolly make himself responsible to maintain the major premise in this argument—to wit: that it is an invariable duty to abstain from every unnecesary act that has a tendency to do harm? Is it never right to ask whether the abstinence will or will not tend to avert the harm? or whether the abstaining may not do more harm than the act would have done? There is danger in any course of action that one may follow, about anything. The Son of man came eating bread and drinking wine. Why could he not have abstained? It was not necessary to him; and see what harm it did! "Behold! a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber." But John the Baptist practiced total abstinence, and men said: "He hath a devil."

It is obvious that we are in the presence of a different

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set of facts from our grandfathers, and that we need a more accurate logic in dealing with them.

What, then, is the present situation?

We find ourselves confronted with a wide-spread institution, singularly tenacious of life, and intrenched in vested interests as well as in the universal public taste, which has come down to us burdened with an infamy which, in former times, at least, was most richly deserved. It must be admitted, furthermore, that its antecedents continue to infect its character. The *New York Tribune*, within a very few years, complained that there was not a stage in all that city from which the actors did not insult the audience by gratuitous and supererogatory profaneness.

An old stigma, as old as the Roman civilization, rests upon the profession of the stage-player; and notwithstanding many very honorable examples of character, it remains true to this day that the profession, as a whole, has failed to recover the public respect, through the prevailing faults of so many of its members.

But then, on the other hand, we are bound in the merest justice to acknowledge a rapidly increasing tendency to improvement in the whole conduct of the stage and theatre, and in the character of the theatrical profession. There was a time when to take the name of actress as a synonym for infamy was a most sad necessity. To-day, the man who makes such a presumption as that against a lady devoted to this trying and perilous profession, is guilty of a wicked calumny. The profession is indeed most perilous and trying to the virtue of those who enter it. But for that very cause, there are those in it whose fidelity to duty shines the more brightly. And there are certain traits of most excellent virtue—a generous

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overflow of kindness towards the unfortunate, a quick sympathy with noble acts and public causes, which we can hardly look to find more honorably exemplified than in the guild of actors. We haven't all the virtues in the church; they cannot claim a monopoly of sins in the green room. A very little while ago, my attention was called as a pastor to an aged and suffering woman, found by one of our city missionaries in Brooklyn, alone and almost friendless in a garret, suffering for lack of fire, in the cold of a northern winter. It seemed a case of strange and unnatural cruelty, for she had nourished and brought up children, and they had neglected her. She was a member of a Presbyterian church in New York, which I could name. Her sons, in various places, were members in good and regular standing of Evangelical churches; one of them, doing a thrifty business as a photographer in that very city of Brooklyn, was a Sunday School Superintendent. But out of all her children, one only shewed her some natural affection, crossing the ferry from time to time to bring her such relief as he could spare out of her scanty salary—and *she* was an actress in the Bowery Theatre. And when I learned this story, I concluded that I would not be in a great hurry to denounce the sins of the theatre, until I had first done my duty by the sins of the church.

Alongside of this tendency to improve, we must observe, if we would take in the whole situation, another movement in the opposite direction. There has been what looks almost like a concerted reaction towards the worst days of dramatic corruption. When the ballet was first introduced into New York, less than forty years ago, it shocked the nerves of that not too fastidious and puritanical city, and

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called forth a protest from the secular press in the name of morality and decency. Now, the ballet is, I will not say an incidental attraction, it seems to be the grand attraction which swallows up all others in most theatres of New York and other cities, so that actors who have studied their profession as an art, complain bitterly that they are crowded from the stage and out of their living by bevies of nude and shameless women, whose livelihood is in their immodesty. Alongside of the pure and blameless dramatization of Dickens, and Mrs. Stowe, and Washington Irving, one sees announced the scoundrelly plays of the French Opera—as much more corrupting than the ribaldry of the old comedies as their indecency is less gross and nauseating—plays which the respectable secular press of the metropolis denounced unanimously for their wickedness, and to which the more they were denounced, the more the "very best society" flocked to see them.

Such, with this double tendency, is the present position of the theatre.

What is the attitude of society with reference to it? It may be defined in these three particulars:

1. Indiscriminate condemnation of the theatre as a whole.

2. By an inevitable consequence, indiscriminate vindication of the theatre as a whole.

3. Indiscriminate evasion of traditionary formulas of duty, half believed and half mistrusted; acts of doubtful and therefore guilty consciences; and the furtive and cowardly attendance upon all sorts of theatrical entertainments, the best and the vilest, by people who hypocritically profess to be governed by principles which forbid it.

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Ah! Let me repeat and emphasize this, for it is the plainest thing in the word of God concerning this whole business. Whatever may be the abstract right or wrong of theatre-going, *you*, who have your scruples and doubts about the matter, who think it had better be done very quietly and so as not to excite remark, you are verily guilty before God in every act. Don't affect to defend yourselves, when you are brought to book for your transgression of rules which you affect to approve, by citing the respectability of *some* theatres and the excellence of *some* plays. It is the very nature of this evasive transgression that it sticks at no such distinction; it has not dared to look its conscience in the face long enough to apprehend such distinctions. I do not believe there is any playgoing more unprincipled and undiscriminating than your Evangelical Christian playgoing. No, no, my dear Christian brother or sister, it is all very well for you to talk about the innocence of Mr. Jefferson's *Rip Van Winkle* and the beauty of *Lucia di Lammermoor*, but these are not what you went to see the last time you were in New York! You went to be delighted with the chaste elegance of the latest and nudest ballet! You spent half the night in rapture over the charms of the scurrilous *opera bouffe*. Decent, upright men of the world have some standards of distinction here, some principles of right and wrong. My friend, Mr. De Cordova, who should thank no one for calling him a Christian, spoke to me of *Barbe Bleue* as an innocent blameless play, but said "I would as soon spit in the face of a lady as ask to see *Geneviève de Brabant*." Your pious playgoer who slips into the theatre when he won't be noticed, who goes with a friend from the country, or who has a visitor who has set his

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heart upon going and must not be allowed to go without protection, knows no such distinctions. A theatre is a theatre. His scruples about going, instead of being the conviction of an enlightened conscience, are a tradition of the elders, and when he breaks over them he may as well die for a sheep as for a lamb. O, my devout friends, think what you do—if ever you do think at all—when, by your presence and patronage, you encourage the ballet. You vaunt the superior virtue and tenderness of our Christian civilization, when you hear with a shudder of fair women and gay gentlemen, in the days of the Roman empire, looking down from the seats in the Coliseum at the dying agonies of struggling gladiators or of martyred Christians,

"Butchered to make a Roman holiday."

Know then that Christendom has found out a cruelty more exquisite. The master of the Roman sports when he had slain the body had no more that he could do. Christian civilization has armed itself with the awful facts of the life to come. It has cunningly contrived a sport so destructive to the modesty, so depraving to the womanly virtue of those who are employed in it, that for one of them to escape perdition of body and soul is accepted as a miracle or commonly scouted as incredible; and Christian men and women suffer themselves to be enticed to the exquisite pleasure of seeing their sister, for whom Christ died, suffering, not the brief anguish of bodily death, but making night by night the sure perdition of her soul. O shame! Shame upon you! Woe unto you, Pharisees, hypocrites!

No, no! If any timid, cautious brother appeals to me

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not to deal so freely with this subject, and asks me if I am not afraid of doing more harm than good by disturbing people's established opinions, I tell him No. The state of this question now is just the worst possible, the most demoralizing, the most destructive to the conscience both of church and of society. You cannot make it worse by stirring it.

But what course, then, shall we recommend with reference to this greatly important question of duty?

I would sum up my answer mainly in this one word, DISCRIMINATION,—a word most irksome and disagreeable to the ordinary rough-and-ready reformer, who always loves to do his condemning and his approving in the bulk instead of in particular. It is so much easier and more slashing when one has seen the mischiefs of excessive frivolity and dissipation and lewd dances, to levy a sweeping edict against dancing, instead of showing distinctly what you do object to. It is so much more easy and compendious to denounce games of chance, and especially to get up a prejudice against playing-cards, than to sits down patiently and show intelligently wherein consists the sinfulness of gambling—that it is obtaining another's property without rendering him an equivalent. This sort of slapdash, hit-or-miss denunciation is the pest and hinderance of every healthy reform; it was the one fault that hindered the anti-slavery agitation from being a moral success. It has been a perpetual drag upon the wheels of the temperance reformation. It is the fatal defect in all this crusade against the corruptions of the stage.

Let us see if we cannot, in this business, lay aside this easily besetting sin of moral reformers; let us learn, in all

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our strictures on that which is so defencelessly open to stricture, to say just what we mean, and mean just what we say. Let us find exactly what those things are which we object to, and then deal with them explicitly—faithfully—and we shall not deal with them the less effectively if we abstain from including in the same censure, perfectly innocent things with which they are associated. If we object that there are multitudes of bad men and women in the profession of the stage, let us learn how to spare those who, for that very reason, are the more honorably and illustriously virtuous, while we smite the guilty. If we condemn bad theatres, why should we find any advantage in bringing here and there the good theatres, if there be such, under the same condemnation? If you abhor and denounce corrupt plays, why should you pretend to denounce dramatic literature, the evil and the good together? Why should you not say what you mean? and if you will not say what you mean, can you very reasonably complain if, by and by, people begin to doubt whether you mean what you say?

I know there are honest people here that are trembling at the peril involved in admitting such distinctions. "What! would you have my son get the idea that it is not wicked to go to the theatre? Think of the danger!" My dear sir, or madam, I have thought of it, earnestly. Have not I sons to care for as well as you? It will be safer for your sons and mine to know the whole right and wrong of this matter, with the facts and the reasons, than to trust them, for their protection against the unquestionable temptations and corruptions attending on theatrical entertainments, to the vain defense of an irrational, traditionary prejudice, which they will break through when

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they are come to years of liberty and discretion, almost as certainly as the chicken chips the egg-shell. I will not rest the morals of my children on any such broken reed. I will not take any such venture as to trust for their security from the blinding, captivating sin of gambling, to a mere vague feeling of dislike to playing-cards and billiard-tables: nor for their safety from drunkenness to the incantation of a children's temperance pledge sworn to by a Sunday-School in bulk. I desire that they may feel from their earliest days the great sanction of all Christian duty in the love of their Saviour, and that they may know the warrant of all particular duties in reason and the word of God. It is just *because* I know what the peril of a young man is, under the practice of indiscriminate and unintelligent denunciation of certain attractive forms of amusement, that I seek to put this whole department of casuistry on a higher and firmer ground.

Is there, then, any hope for the elevation of the theatre from its depressed moral and social position? Two thousand years of history present, it must be confessed, a formidable discouragement to all such expectations. But we cannot willingly despair of reform; we look with interest towards every door of hope, and observe every token of improvement, not with churlish contempt and suspicion, as if it were mask for new temptations, but with sincere satisfaction.

1. The theatrical profession have the whole matter in their own hands. There is no disguising the fact—their own complaints are sufficient proof of it—the profession are under the disfavor of society, even of worldly society. It is in their own power to change all this, and to be respected,

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by being respectable. I know no one class of society so much interested in the reform of the theatre as the profession of the stage. Why should they not reform it? The manager who should feel that he could "afford to keep a conscience" in his business might find, in the long run, that it *pays* to keep a conscience, especially to one who does not keep it for the sake of pay. The manager who should say: "Such and such pieces would undoubtedly run through the whole season, and draw the house full every night, but they are corrupting and demoralizing in their influence, and they cannot come upon my boards;" the actor who should take the position: "In such a part I could win applause and reputation and money; if I decline it I forfeit my engagement; but it is vile and debasing to the public, and, come what may, I will not appear in it;" the community of actors who should resolutely refuse to be associated with persons of known infamous character; such as these could do more for the reforming and ennobling of the stage than all the preachers in Christendom. But how often do we hear of such managers and such players? There have been those, in every generation since David Garrick, whose private character has done something towards redeeming the character of the profession. There are more such to-day, doubtless, than ever before since the beginning of history. To speak only of the lyric stage—towards which my tastes have more particularly directed my attention—what whisper of disrespect was ever breathed against such names as those of Miss Kellogg and Madame Parepa-Rosa? O that some one of these great artists would have the bravery to resist the bad traditions of her art! The whole world of criticism must acknowledge that Don Giovanni

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is the very master-piece of the lyric drama. Such affluence of melody, such largeness of dramatic conception and treatment, such mastery of the resources of the orchestra —in one word, such worthiness of the great Mozart—set it clear of rivalry. Have courage, now, and self-denial, for virtue's sake and God's, and say: "I will not sing in Don Giovanni, for it is licentious and foul!" Ah! if actors and singers had but the courage and virtue for such acts as this, they would not have to ask permission of churches and ministers and tract societies to be respected; they would hold the respect of the public in their own right, despite all gainsayers. But, so long as they freely choose the other course, let us hear no more whimpering from them about the ban of society which they thereby incur.

2. I have no more than time to hint at the help that might be given to such a reform by the discriminating, faithful criticisms of the newspaper press. How faithful the best of the great New York dailies have lately been, in criticising the moral tone as well as the literary and artistic character of the metropolitan theatres, those who habitually read them know. How much this has helped the efforts of those who are honestly laboring, from behind the scenes, for the improvement of the theatre, cannot be estimated. Doubtless, the best men of the theatrical profession here would be the most eager to welcome an advance of the press of this city, to a higher and more faithful sort of criticism than the country-newspaper style of measuring out his finger's length of "first-rate notice" to whoever sends to the office an advertisement and a complimentary ticket.

3. But have the Christian public anything to do with

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reference to possible reform in the theatre—with reference to the actual diverging tendencies now visible in the progress of theatrical events? Have we anything to do, except look on until the question is decided? Can we innocently enjoy the good and refuse the evil? Can we usefully give countenance to the better party against the worse?

I only ask these questions; I do not mean to answer them. They are questions for every man to answer for himself. "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind."

It is no ordinance of God that men should get all their open questions of duty answered for them by others; but rather that they should be pressed, urged, perplexed, even, by doubts for the right decision of which they must answer at the judgment. Is not this a nobler discipline for Christian manhood than any mill of formulas—"touch not, taste not, handle not, which perish in the using"—such as the grandly liberal mind of Paul rejected with scorn, such as Christian society often attempts to substitute for the broad principles of the gospel and the responsible liberty of the individual conscience!

"Each man in *his own* mind." If ever there is to be a true and wholesome public sentiment, it will come, not by the servile deference of the individual to what he guesses to be the opinion of the rest, but by every man's freely determining and frankly acting out his own conviction. Is it not a small matter to be judged of man's judgment? God is your judge, not man.

But remember God *is* your judge; and for all your dealing with questions like these you must give account to Him!

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XIV.

MISTAKES AND FAILURES OF THE TEMPERANCE REFORMATION.*

It is not necessarily a reproach against the Temperance Reformation that now, decaying and waxing old, it is ready to vanish away. Many a good thing, before this has had its day and its decline, and has entered gracefully into its worthy place in history. The symptoms of decline in that great movement which is to be known hereafter as the Temperance Reformation of the Nineteenth Century, are not only perceptible to cool observers; even the affection of devoted partisans is not so blind as not to see them.

Whatever hopes its friends and supporters may have of its future revival or resurrection, they will hardly deny that, in the present course of things, we are getting rapidly toward the time when its epitaph and history will have to be written. Considered as a great popular movement, it passed its culmination many years ago, and like all such agitations in their decline, is making feeble efforts to repeat itself. Vain efforts—for it would be out

* Published as an anonymous pamphlet, New York: 1864.

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of accord with history, if the world should be put back to the old point in its course, and run this tweny-five years of agitation over again in the same groove.

And what profit, if it could be? Given the same starting point and the same course, the world could not but bring up at last at the same result; and is this the thing we are to desire, in the name of philanthropy and public morality? We may have a *new* Temperance Reformation, but the old one over again—hardly. The old soldiers of the late war will continue to "fight their battles o'er again"—to "shoulder the crutch and show how fields were won," and its surviving stipendiaries will continue to draw their well-earned pensions from the dwindling current of public benefaction. These are the usual *sequelæ* of a great public movement. But as to the movement itself—*actum est.* What remains is, first and most important, to make a careful autopsy, in the interest of humanity and science, to discover the cause of this untimely demise; and then for the historian to build a monument and write an epitaph worthy of the real dignity and grandeur of the deceased. Only let the *post-mortem* come first, and the funeral and the eulogy afterward.

We have undertaken the examination—an ungracious task. The Egyptians were wont to employ the embalmer to fit their dead for honorable burial and then to pelt him with mud for desecrating the body with an incision. Let him who wields his scalpel over the *cadaver* of the Temperance Reform, look out for like treatment.

There is no doubt that the eulogist of the Temperance Reformation, whenever it shall be his turn, will find

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abundant materials for his work. It is a fair question, even, on which we cannot pronounce—so near are we to the event—whether the best years of that reform will not be reckoned among the noblest in the annals of Christian heroism.

Consider it. It was in the fulfillment of Christian duty in its highest grade of attainment, that the expedient of *abstinence by the temperate*, which was the initial and characteristic expedient of this Reformation, was inaugurated. It was grounded on the duty—so indefinable in its application that it must be left to the judgment of each man's conscience—so easy, therefore, to be evaded—the duty of waiving one's liberty in lawful things, in favor of the morbid weakness or error of other men. It was on this sole ground that the best men in the country came, about the year 1836, to a wonderfully unanimous and simultaneous agreement to renounce entirely the use, not only of ardent spirits, but of all malt and fermented liquors. A greater triumph of Christian principle the world has rarely seen in all its history. There have been individual acts more heroic; but such a movement of general self-renunciation, in face of social usage, in face of natural tastes and desires—a movement of the mass of the Christian public in all its ranks, as of a cloud "which moveth altogether if it move at all"—a movement, nevertheless, in which each soul proceeded on its own individual will, without constraint, to renounce for humanity's sake an innocent, a lawful, in frequent instances a very useful indulgence—such a movement is characterized by a moral dignity which is hardly rivaled in the history of the church universal. It is a great part of the glory of the early abstinence movement, that

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it was a movement for abstinence from *lawful* things. If abstinence could have been enforced as a duty by absolute and independent sanctions, it would have been less an honor to the abstainers than now. It is another part of that glory (if we may so speak, without too bold a paradox), that the sacrifice which it involved was so small a one. To rescue the land from drunkenness, those early reformers were willing not only to do some great thing; they were willing day by day to do little things, which is harder and more heroic. They were willing to practice little self-denials, to withstand petty oppositions and suffer paltry annoyances; to be sneered at by the frivolous, and denounced by the selfish, and coldly approved by the self-sufficient, until by-and-by the meek inherited the land. Those advocates of the "Temperance Cause" who seek to honor it by magnifying the "sin of moderate drinking" and exalting the arduous heroism of the reformer, really defeat their own purpose, and disparage what they would extol. We shall not go far in this discussion without finding other instances in which the Temperance Reformation has been wounded by the awkward and superfluous activity of its friends.

The early Abstinence movement as we have described it, founded on a true principle of Christian ethics, and marked by the grandeur of a free, spontaneous movement of public philanthropy, was *justified by the emergency* in which it arose, and, after all allowances which any man will claim, has been *approved by the issue.*

It was *justified by the emergency.* Judging from unquestionable statements and descriptions, the state of American society fifty years ago was such as we do not

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commonly conceive at this day. "All tables were full of vomit and filthiness—there was no place clean." Old persons now living, who in their youth had large acquaintance with public men, can tell us how many eminent citizens, how many honorable judges, how many beloved physicians, passed in their latter days under a cloud which rested at last upon their graves; and the ecclesiastical and clerical records of every denomination show how common a thing it used to be for an aged and venerable minister of the gospel, as his natural force abated, to decline into habits which demanded his seclusion from the ministry.[1]

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1. A letter from the Rev. Dr. Woods, of Andover, published so long ago as 1836, in the Annual Report of the American Temperance Society for that year, contains the following testimony:

"I remember that at a particular period, before the Temperance Reformation commenced, I was able to count up nearly forty ministers of the gospel, and none of them at a very great distance, who were either drunkards, or so far addicted to intemperate drinking that their reputation and usefulness were greatly injured, if not utterly ruined. And I could mention an ordination that took place about twenty years ago, at which I myself was ashamed and grieved to see two aged ministers literally drunk, and a third indecently excited with strong drink." Report, p. 50.

This testimony coincides with that of "an aged divine in Albany" to Mr Edward C. Delavan, quoted by the latter in a letter to Governor King of this State in 1857. This anonymous witness "found that fifty per cent. of the clergy within a circuit of fifty miles, died drunkarks!"

Such irresponsible talk as this is of course to be taken with large allowance. But the fact that such a statement could be made at all, without palpable absurdity, proves a state of society to have existed which it is difficult for us to conceive of at present.

There are many anecdotes of leading professional men of this city in the past generation, current in family and professional circles, which confirm the representation we have given of the state of society in their day. It would be a needless pain to draw them out of the obscurity of tradition, in order to prove e point which will hardly be denied by any one.

Notice, here, the *date*, under which Dr. Woods speaks of general drunkenness as characteristic of a *past* state of society. It would appear from this, and from sundry other documentary indications, that the great conquest of the Temperance Reformation was achieved during its first decade, from 1826 to 1836, before th

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We are prepared to say, further, that the right and expediency of the *early* abstinence movement has been *approved by the result.* With all the pitiable features of the present aspect of society in respect to intemperance, and all the deformities and *opprobria* of the Temperance Reformation in full view, we have nevertheless no hesitation in repeating this conviction. We shall use great plainness of speech when we come by-and-by to say what the Temperance Reformation has failed to do, and what it has done amiss. But thus much it has done, and that in main reliance on its leading expedient of the total abstinence of temperate men:

It has rescued many individuals from drunkenness.

It has doubtless held back many persons from perilous beginnings of temptation that would otherwise have proved their ruin.

It has broken, so that they can never be repaired, the pernicious and despotic drinking usages of society.

It has taught (by a transient and unstable experiment) that social influences, organized in the interest of vice, may be successfully combated by social organizations in behalf of virtue.

It has contributed something to the sound literature of social reform.

If it has settled no principles, it has *un*settled a great many convictions, and has opened—not closed—important discussions.

Saying nothing now of what it has undone, misdone, and failed to do, these things it has done; they are among the triumphs of the Christian expedient of renouncing an

present pledge, forbidding not only distilled but fermented liquors, was introduced.

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innocent thing for the sake of other men's consciences. For, in the golden age of the Temperance Reformation, it was a *mere expedient*, not a principle; and this (as we have said) was the glory of it, that when it could be enforced by no law, the sacrifice was cheerfully assumed for love's sake.[1]

We have spoken with some particularity of the *early* abstinence movement, as if there were something distinguishing about it as compared with the more recent "Temperance Reformation." We believe this to be the fact. We believe, and are ready to prove, that this reformation has departed from sound Scriptural principles and right measures, and is now prosecuted on fallacious principles and by means of measures the unfitness and wrongness of which are witnessed by their constant failure.

The revolution in the Temperance Reformation has been on this wise. Not long after the first flush of its vigor, it passed its period of highest vitality, and from that moment its decay was rapid.[2] It passed from a *movement* into an *institution*. It passed out of the control and management of zealous and philanthropic men, who gave to it the judgment that had been ripened, the influence that had been earned, and the vigor that had been trained in various pursuits—men whose zeal was

1. For a summary of the results of the Temperance Reform, see the letter of Mr. Delavan to Governor King, in the Appendix to "Nott's Temperance Lectures," p. 297. Also the successive Annual Reports of the American Temperance Union.

2. The rudiments of the change described above as coming over the spirit of the Temperance movement, are to be discerned very early in the history of it. No point of time is to be indicated as the point of transition from its success to its decadence. These rudiments of corruption infected the speech of some of its earliest advocates. A sermon (from which we shall hereafter quote) by the Rev. Mr. Kirk, about the year 1837, anticipates many of the fallacies in sustaining which a great proportion of the energies of the reform has since been wasted.

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tempered, not cooled, by the neeessity of holding this particular subject constantly in relation and comparison with other practical matters; and it passed under the control of specialists, of professional reformers, of stipendiary agitators, of men who, bringing to the exclusive consideration of a somewhat exciting subject the sort of mental predisposition which is common to the riders of hobbies, gradually develop a monomania more or less gentle according to the natural temper of the subject, and aggravated constantly by the unremitted pressure of the exciting cause.

Now when the original movement began to cool off into an institution, it is no wonder that its loss of inward vital force should begin to be supplemented with artificial stimulants, and that its spontaneous expedients of Christian affection should begin to petrify into forms of social law. By just so much as the genuine spirit of Christian zeal declined among the reformers or their successors, it left behind it a half-animated body of formalism or asceticism. The institution has now its corporate interests and a corporate spirit, besides the spirit of the reform which it espouses. The vice which it opposes is now doubly guilty, first, as a sin against God and man, secondly, as a lese-majesty against the Temperance Society. So the institution settles its formulas, erects its codes, affixes its penalties, enforces them. The course which, to meet the emergency of the time, had at the outset been urged on the ground of Christian expediency, liberty, and love, is now enjoined on the ground of *absolute duty*.

It requires no great acuteness of mind to see that the change thus wrought is a radical one. Every man can see and *feel* the difference between an appeal to him to waive

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his lawful liberty, lest it should harm his brother, and a demand that he shall give up what he knows to be indifferent in itself, because it is denounced as a sin in itself, and because his liberty is to be held subject to another man's conscience. This is the thirty-second degree of the thermometer—the freezing point, where the free act of brotherly love congeals into a form of law, and becomes a yoke of tradition from the elders.

This, then, is the fundamental falsehood which infects the "Temperance Reformation" as now prosecuted (if that may be called *prosecution* which consists mainly in a fussy routine without progress)—that the temperate use of drinks that might intoxicate is a sin, not for its probable consequences in the particular instance, but in itself. It will be obvious, in the course of this discussion, that it was not the force of mistaken argument that led to the adoption of this false position, but, plainly enough, that the false position has led to the adoption of a train of fallacious arguments wherewith to sustain it. The chief of these fallacies it is worth while rapidly to recapitulate. We may name them:

1. The Biblical fallacy;
2. The Physiological and Chemical fallacy;
3. The Progressive-Approach fallacy;
4. The Moral fallacy.

1. *The Biblical fallacy:* in which it is assumed or asserted that the duty of total abstinence from all fermented drinks is inculcated on mankind in the Holy Scriptures. The argument with which this position is defended, whatever may be its repute among scholars, is a mighty one *ad captandum vulgus*, for it is black, and angular, and

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formidable with quotations of the Hebrew text, or asthmatic with *h's*, and *hh's*, and *kh's*, and *ch's*, and other vain Occidental imitations of Oriental gutturals. It is dealt in most lavishly by lecturers of the unlearned rank, and is undoubtedly effective, in a measure, with audiences of like capacity. And yet it does not need a scholar to see through its sophistries. The argument goes limping through the Old Testament, leaning on pedantic quotations of the various Hebrew words for wine—*tirosh*, and *yayin*, and *mesech*, and *shechar*—and at last breaks down suddenly when it gets to the New Testament, where there is only one word for wine, and that means precisely *wine*.[1] Some biblical scholars have been misled into this argument, and a great many others have been bullied or persuaded into not denying it nor (publicly) laughing at it.[2]

The gist of the biblical argument is this: there are several words in the Hebrew of the Old Testament, which

1. It is said to be a standing joke with the American missionaries in Syria to offer their traveler guests "some of Professor Stuart's best-wine-of-Lebanon," which, on trial, proves to be *dibs*, an inspissated grape syrup used by the natives in their cookery. It is not an easy article to swallow under any such name as the temperance expositors have dignified it with.

2. The grand authority and thesaurus of the total abstinence men, in the biblical argument, is the "Temperance Lectures" of President Nott, edited, with a learned appendix on the philological aspects of the question, by a "Professor" McCoy. The critical labors of this philologist leave on his readers the profound impression that he does not know the Greek alphabet. On a hasty count we find, in a table of 137 Greek words which he gives, 66 mistakes of orthography. And yet this imposture comes before the public with no less respectable an indorsement than that of Professor Tayler Lewis.

It is amusing to see that even the tolerably stiff statements of Dr. Nott fall below the best standards of total abstinence orthodoxy. An unguarded expression in one of his lectures, that the wine permitted in the Scriptures might not have been "always unaffected by fermentation, but only slightly and insensibly affected by it," gave "offense to many sincere friends of the cause," who consequently felt it their duty to repudiate and condemn it." The learned McCoy apologizes for, but does not undertake to defend, the old doctor's "gratuitous and unfortunate admission."—*Nott's Lectures*, pp. 116-119.

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are translated *wine* in the English version. When wine is spoken of with commendation or allowance, it is commonly under that name which should be translated *sirup* or *unfermented grape juice:* when fermented wine is meant it is always spoken of with reprobation. The New Testament being interpreted by the Old, they infer that the wine made, or used, or tolerated by the Saviour was unfermented.

Of course the reasoning will not hold water—nor wine. When the deacons (1 Tim. iii. 8) are required to be "not given to *much* wine," are they warned against hurting their stomachs with too much molasses, or against an intoxicating drink? and if the latter, does not the warning against *much* imply the permission of a little?

2. *The Physiological fallacy:* "Alcohol is a poison, and therefore all use of fermented drinks is, so far as it goes, an act of suicide." It would be easy to admit the premise of this precious bit of reasoning without admitting the conclusion. Doubtless, *extracted and isolated,* alcohol would be a poison, if any one should drink it. But this does not convict all those articles of being poisons from which it can be extracted. The lactucarium is a poison, if any one should try to feed on it; but it is not therefore a sin to eat lettuce. Oxalic acid is "an energetic poison;" but we need not therefore abandon the use of the garden rhubarb. Acetic acid is decidedly a poison; but no one has yet demanded, on moral grounds, a total abstinence from pickles. Citric acid would be very bad for a man if he should take too much of it; but lemonade has not yet been placed on the *Index Expurgatorius* of the Temperance Society. Common salt is a poison, in poisonous doses;

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but let us not on that account be over hasty in adopting the present usage of the people of the rebel States, regarding that favorite condiment and antiseptic. One of the deadliest of known poisons is the hydrocyanic acid; but must the peach leaves and the bitter almonds be therefore hunted out of the kitchen pantry?

The evidence as to the true position of alcoholic liquors in the Materia Medica and in the Materia Alimentaria, has been so much cooked and garbled by partisan writers, that it is difficult for those outside of the circle of professional students of physiology, to find the materials for a candid opinion. The arguments of the abstinence men are of three sorts: 1. Arguments derived from speculations in organic chemistry. Of these it is sufficient for those who are *not* adepts, to say that the opinions of those who *are*, are too contradictory and unsettled to afford a basis of judgment. We can refer to numerous sermons and speeches that have been delivered from texts in Liebig, which the progress of his own science has shown to be false. 2. Arguments from medical experiment, whether *in corpore vili* of some miserable victim who submits to be alcoholized for the benefit of science, or on the bodies of dogs who are tricked into making beasts of themselves that the experimenter, opening their bodies *flagrante delicto*, may see how the liquor works upon the system. Of both these two sorts of argument it is safe to say that, unsupported by practical experience, they are always looked upon with distrust by wise physicians. 3. The argument from induction,—which is the only one of the real importance. And as for this argument, after allowing for all the difficulties which embarras it in consequence of years of partisan discussion,

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—after giving full credit to the weighty name of Carpenter the physiologist, and to the still weightier facts and instances which he adduces in favor of the physiological doctrine of total abstinence,—after putting into the scale the cogent though ungrammatical testimony of two thousand members of the medical profession in England, including some very eminent and judicious men, to the proposition (which nobody denies), that "the most perfect health is compatible with total abstinence,"—after all these allowances, the balance of opinion and facts is decidedly *against* the dogma that the moderate dietetic use of malt and fermented drinks is unwholesome or not useful.[1]

The following propositions would perhaps be accepted by physicians generally as expressing some of the results of medical science in its bearing on the total abstinence question.

1. The doctrine that alcohol serves as a "respiratory food," being oxydized in the lungs, is discredited by recent experiments.

2. The fact remains, that when, either from privation, or loss of appetite, or other cause, the system receives a reduced supply of food, the use of alcohol does, for

1. Of course no account need be taken of the summaries of medical opinion presented in the tracts of professional reformers. In scientific value, and in fairness of citation, these medical works belong in the same rank with the medical almanacs of Dr. Brandreth and Dr. Ayer.

We have refrained, with some self-denial, from commenting on some of the livelier physiological extravagances of the abstinence party; such as the assertion of Dr. Mussey, that the Materia Medica would be no loser if the use of alcohol for tinctures was abolished (Dr. Mussey's Prize Essay); or the awful warning deduced by Dr. Pierson from the death of Dr. Holyoke at the untimely age of one hundred years, in consequence of his fatal habit of taking every day after dinner, with his pipe, "a preparation consisting of one tablespoonful of Jamaica rum, and one tablespoonful of cider, diluted with water."

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protracted periods, sustain the strength and prevent emaciation.

3. The action of alcohol after distillation, on the human system, is different in important respects from its action when taken in the form of fermented drinks. For instance, a pint of brandy and water, containing a certain amount of alcohol, will intoxicate, when a pint of wine or beer, containing the same amount of alcohol in its natural combination, will not.

4. Perfect health may be compatible either with the moderate use of fermented drinks, or with entire abstinence from them.

5 There are "modifications of the bodily condition, short of actual disease, in which the occasional or habitual use of alcoholic liquors may be necessary or beneficial."

The last proposition is in the words of Dr. Capenter, the highest authority of the total abstinence party. For it, he informs us, his "Prize Essay" has been denounced by some of the temperance reformers themselves, as "doing as much harm as good to the cause of temperance." [1]

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1. See a Letter from Dr. Carpenter to the Editor of the *Westminster Review*, published in that quarterly for January, 1856.

Dr. Carpenter's Prize Essay on "The Use and Abuse of Alcoholic Liquors," has been republished by Blanchard & Lea, Philadelphia. An answer to it was printed in the *Westminster Review* for July, 1855.

It is a curious illustration of the uncertainty of organic chemistry as a rule of medical or hygienic practice, that the chemical theories on which Dr. Carpenter and his antagonist fought out the discussion less than ten years ago, are now abandoned by both parties in consequence of more recent experiments.

A series of popular articles on the question, "Is Alcohol Food, Medicine, or Poison?" have been produced within two or three years in the *Cornhill Magazine*, which take into view the most recent experiments bearing on the subject.

For a temperate statement of the dietetic value of the various alcoholic liquors, see Pereira on "Food and Diet," pp. 26, 27; 76-80.

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3. *The Progressive-Approach fallacy:* "If one drop of wine does not make drunk, then two will not, and if not two, then not three, and if not three, then (by progressive approach) not three hundred, nor three thousand, nor three millions. And on the contrary, if a quart of wine makes drunk, a drop of wine does, in its degree."

When we hear men resorting to this form of argument —the Sorites—we do well to be suspicious of them, for of all the figures of logic, it is the most notoriously tricky and untrustworthy. To exhibit just where the catch of the fallacy lies would be more appropriate to a tract on logic than to one on Temperance. It is enough to say that the argument proves an absurdity; for it is just as effective to break down most other moral distinctions, as to break down the distinction between temperance and excess in the use of wine or cider. You cannot define exactly where a praiseworthy thrift begins to turn into a censurable parsimony; but, for all that, we are not going to take a monastic "vow of poverty," nor enact the Spartan "prohibitory law" against the accumulation of money. You cannot tell where good taste in dress becomes extravagance; but, for all that, we shall hardly join the Quakers in a pledge of total abstinence from ornament. You cannot draw the line at which a holy resistance to tyranny degenerates into faction and sedition; but for all that, we are not doing to renounce or deny the right of revolution. There are some questions of duty that are, and must be, left for each conscience to settle for itself, as it shall answer to its own Master.[1]

1. See a lively passage in Macaulay's *History of England* (chap. ix. at the beginning), showing the ethical absurdities into which this sort of reasoning leads.

The abstinence men, by the way, do not seem to have suspected that this

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4. *The Moral fallacy*—so called by courtesy. It would be better to say the immoral and demoralizing argument; for probably there is no one mistake of the Temperance Societies which more than this has caused the Temperance Reformation to "send forth a stinking savor" into the nostrils of good men. It lies in asserting that the temptation and passion which lead to drunkenness are uncontrollable—a most pernicious and corrupting assertion, the vicious consequences of which are felt in all the relations of the Temperance Reformation. We shall have to speak of it again and again, before we have done with this discussion.

Note the genesis of this pitiable mistake. It is not a false premise, which has misled the Temperance reformers to wrong conclusions. It is a false argument, to which they have resorted from the necessity of defending a false position. The point to be achieved was to compel everybody, everywhere and always, to adopt the total abstinence practice. The thesis to be proved was that the temperate use of wine, beer and cider was a sin. Accordingly, when the Biblical and Scientific arguments, and the "Progressive-Approach" quibble, fell somewhat short of producing conviction, the Moral argument became a necessity of the situation. The rhetorical capabilities of the argument were superior. It was to be supported mainly by confident assertion and frequent reiteration, together with intense descriptions and the narration of horrible "experiences." Withal, it commended itself to the complacency of the scurrilous army of ditch-delivered lecturing reformed drunkards (whose glory was in their

argument may be used just as effectively to prove that a quart of brandy will not intoxicate, as to prove that a teaspoonful of cider *will*.

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shame), inasmuch as it mitigated or excused their crimes, at the same time that it cast a slur on decent people.

It was a two-edged weapon. It claimed that the passion for intoxication excited by moderate drinking is overwhelming—irresistible; that the point of responsibility for drunkenness is, therefore, not where temperance verges toward excess, but at the first violation of the total abstinence principle. In its zeal against "moderate drinking" its mild censures against drunkenness lost all their emphasis. It was so fierce to make temperance a crime, that it made out intemperance to be only a misfortune.

We shall see, soon, how this piece of sophistry has infected all the various measures of recent Temperance Reform.

Just here, doubtless, a question of expediency will arise in many minds, whether, after all, the diffusion of these fallacies is not doing so much good that it is better not to try to expose them, but rather let them go on and accomplish what good they can. The question is not of the sort which weighs much in ingenuous minds; but some minds are not ingenuous, and it must needs be answered for the benefit of such.

And the answer is—promptly and decisively—it is *not* expedient to conceal and abet the fallacies of the recent Temperance Reformers; and the fact that it is manifestly inexpedient, completes the evidence that their fallacies are fallacies. It is inexpedient to propagate falsehoods, and those sentiments are falsehoods which it is inexpedient to propagate.

Witness some of the evil results incidental to the

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prosecution of the Temperance Reformation on delusive principles:

1. It brings down a great and noble reformation of morals into the category of those petty and impotent crusades against vice, which proceed on the supposition that the proper antidote for laxity is austerity and superstition,—on the strange policy which thinks more effectually to rebuke an evil, not by rebuking the evil itself, but by denouncing it in common with innocent or useful things with which it is associated. Social dissipation needs to be checked, and indelicate and lascivious dances to be discountenanced, and so the wise people institute a raid against innocent cotillions. Gambling is a prevalent vice, the wickedness of which really needs to be exposed, and to be intelligibly impressed on the conscience of society. But instead of doing this, it is held to be better to try to breed a superstitious horror of colored cards, a fear of billiard tables, and a reverential dread of the lot.[1] Doubtless many a devout person mourns, because ten-pin alleys could not be permanently sequestered to purposes of iniquity, under the same condemnation. Twenty years ago, profaneness, mustaches, smoking, soft hats and dissipation were pretty much confounded under the sweep of public censure. Considerable discrimination has been learned since that time, and yet the force of the protest against profaneness and

1. Witness the protest of sundry clergymen of this city, last winter, against the proposed introduction of *raffling* at the Metropolitan Sanitary Fair. It was a timely protest against the intended desecration of a noble charity by a mischievous abuse. But instead of being predicated on the strong and simple reasons that forbid gambling in general, to what a pitiful superstition did it make appeal!

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dissipation has not been much weakened by it—not very much.

2. The prosecution of the Temperance Reformation on these fallacious grounds tends to create a *factitious conscience* in those who are persuaded by it. (We pass over the consideration of its effect on those who are repelled from it at the start by the evidently unscriptural and unreasonable nature of its demands.) What the result of such an artificial conscience is, in weakening and perverting the true moral sense, is evident by a multitude of instances drawn from every system of "will-worship" that has been brought into the world, from the days of Cain till now. God's law is fitted to man's capacity. By as much as you superadd to it human traditions and ordinances, you drive out judgment and the love of God. Increase forms without sanction, and you starve the spirit. Multiply saints' days, and you lose the Sabbath. Introduce penance, and you expel repentance. If you would see the natural result of this sort of training, find it in the case of your servants, who steal eggs to keep Lent on: or in the case of that eminent Christian of the Greek Church, who, in pursuing his lawful calling of piracy, was much shocked and troubled in conscience to get blood in his mouth on a Friday. The late talk of the Temperance Reformers, with its sharply-defined and formulated rules of duty, is the very Pharisaism of the Christian dispensation, and its Pharisaic nature shows out in its developments.

3. By this treatment, the new temperance dogmas prepare for finally *breaking down the conscience* with a crash. This is the natural result of multiplying artificial enactments of morality.

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It is no very difficult matter to institute these conventional laws, and give them the show of authority, especially with very young and very ignorant persons. You can train your boy so that he will grow up to years of discretion with a profound religious conviction that *ball-playing* is a sin against God, and you can train yourself at the same time into a thankful assurance that you have thereby secured him against many perils of evil company. But there will be, finally, one of two results: (1.) The boy, by unusual obedience, and self-denial, and faith in his parents, may perhaps refrain from the innocent play, with an upright conscience, until, being come to years of discretion, he observes and reasons for himself, and then discovers that he has been imposed upon by the fraud or superstition or ignorance of his parents. What then? Is it only his views on ball playing that are disturbed? Nay! the foundations are destroyed, and what shall the righteous do? Everything is unsettled; and it shall be well for him and for others if he do not rush to the conclusion, that if this is not wrong, then nothing is wrong. Faith in his parents and Christian teachers ought to have been the round in the ladder by which he should rise to faith in God; he rested his weight on this round and it broke under his foot. (2.) But more likely the mere word of his parents will not be enough to hold him back from the common practice and amusement of his comrades. "With a vague, secret sense of transgression," he will be tempted into the innocent game—innocent except for him. He will go into it with a doubtful conscience, and therefore with a guilty one, and this artifice of over-righteousness shall become the very "snare of the fowler" to his soul. Undoubtedly, it is true, as temperance

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orators claim—oftener true now than it used to be—that many a young criminal can refer to his first glass of cider as the beginning of his career of crime.[1] So evil a thing is it for the conscience, to turn the kingdom of God into meat and drink! So perilous a business is the inventing of new sins!

4. But the most pitiable effect of the shuffle by which this fallacy has been slipped into the substructure of the Temperance Reformation is this: that it is *debauching the conscience of the Temperance Reformers themselves, and of the Church of Christ.*

Read the list of eminent citizens which monthly decorates the head of that more or less amusing periodical, the "*Journal of the American Temperance Union*,"—the list of officers of the society. There are thirty-seven of them, all in a row. We are an obscure individual, and these are illustrious generals, admirals, honorables, and doctors of divinity; consequently our personal acquaintance with them is limited. Will some one who knows tell us how many of them even defend the principles (in private) which their names are annually and monthly paraded to sustain? Also, how many of the stanchest Abdiels of them all "*animum mutant cum trans mare currunt?*"

The executive committee of the American Tract Society, Nassau Street, New York, is composed of gentlemen of a character for all the private virtues, which is more than fair—it is refulgent. By way of issuing what shall approve itself to all evangelical Christians, they have set forth a series of controversial pamphlets on the total abstinence

1. See an instructive passage in F. W. Robertson's Sermons, Second series, pp. 209, 210.

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question, which would not get a majority vote of approbation from any Church in Christendom outside of America and the American missions. How many of these gentlemen personally advocate the rule of total abstinence? how many of them ostensibly practice it? how many *really* do? how many of them take their wine regularly? how many of them only occasionally? how many of them (to use the standard phase) "put their bottle to their neighbors' lips" at dinners and evening parties? Does Mr. ———?—but it would be cruel to call names. Questions like these were propounded one day at the Academy of Music, in the presence of these gentlemen, but received no response, except a flourish of the excellent Dr. Spring's tobacco-box, and a general wincing all round the stage.

"Shame!" says the Christian public, "this is only the slanderous innuendo of an anonymous writer against some of the best and most consistent people." Dear public, Christian public, credulous public, you are mistaken. This code of Christian duties, which is set forth with such most unctuous unction, is meant for the lower classes. It is esteemed a good thing for the rural districts. It will be voted through unanimously in synods and other mixed meetings, out of consideration to weak consciences and country members; but when you come down to matters of practical importance, as at the dinner-table, there is a good deal to be said on the other side of the question. You supposed, dear public, that this code was meant to apply in Madison Square and on Murray Hill? Bless your simple soul!

We cannot jest about this matter; it is too painful a business. This total-abstinence movement may have done

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a great deal of good. We confidently believe that it has. God be thanked for all that is to be reckoned to that side of the account. But if it has cost the Church of Christ its good conscience before its Lord, it has *cost too much.* These officers, let it be remembered, are not peculiar members of the community. "Like people like priest." The churches are full, in pulpit and pews, of fluent talkers in the cant of the total-abstinence movement, who, whether overtly or covertly, are living in habitual violation of its principles. This is so common—so common among the best men—that it calls out not even remark, much less the exercise of Christian rebuke or discipline. Our Temperance Reformation has *cost too much.* For there are some things that are worse than drunkenness. The Pharisaism which binds heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lays them on other men's shoulders, but will not touch them with one of its fingers, is worse than drunkenness. The "dastardly condemnation of the weak, for sins which are venial in the strong," is worse than drunkenness. The breaking of the simple, transparent integrity of the conscience of the Christian Church and ministry, is worse than drunkenness, It was a pitiable sight, fifty years ago, at an ordination, to see "two aged ministers literally drunk, and a third indecently excited with strong drink."[1] It was a sadder sight, notwithstanding all that there was of ludicrous about it, five years ago, at a great meeting of a great Christian society, to see the board of its officers, when charged with publishing sentiments and precepts which privately they did not pretend to hold nor practice, nudging one another round the platform.[2] *Wo unto you, hypocrites!*

1. See letter of the Rev. Dr. Woods, above quoted.
2. See the New York daily papers of May, 1859.

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Do we, then, oppose total abstinence? By no means. It has been, in its day, a most useful expedient. It may often be such again. What we do is this: We abandon the commandments of men and come back to something better and safer—to the principle of Christian liberty and love. "If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world standeth;" that is, I will abstain if I can do any good by it. Only mark here two things: 1. On the question whether or not abstinence is expedient in any particular case, the decision is left to each man's conscience in the sight of God; and, in deciding it, if he is a man, he is not to be bullied nor dictated to by all the force of the Temperance Union, with all the sanctity of the Tract Society to back it. 2. Further, however cheerfully we may give up a lawful thing to help our weak brother, we do not undertake any obligation to say to him that the lawful thing is unlawful. We won't tell lies for anybody's weak brother.

There are two ways of approaching a person who is in danger of excess in wine. One way is to tell him that wine is poisonous; that it never does anybody good, but always harm; that the Bible forbids all use of it; that those who use it at all have no security against being drunkards; that therefore it is wicked ever to drink wine and you never do. To all which, if he is a tolerably intelligent man, he will probably answer "*pooh!*" The other way is to tell him the truth; to assure him, with such proofs as you can show, that he is in personal peril; to point out the personal importance to him of a rigorous abstinence, and to offer to him, if it will be of any help to him in such a course, that you will give up for *his* sake

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the daily glass of wine or ale which is important to your comfort or your health.

It is because this latter method is founded in truth and godly sincerity that we believe it to be effective and expedient; and because it is so evidently the effective and expedient way, that we are reassured that it is true.

But let all temperance reasoners bear in mind, what almost all of them have forgotten, that if this argument from Christian liberty is to be used, then the argument from the absolute duty of abstinence must be renounced; and *vice versa*. The two are incompatible. It is not competent to urge a man, on the ground of lawful expediency, to refrain from the use of a slow poison and from the practice of gradual suicide; nor to forbid as a sin *per se* the "lawful thing which is not expedient." Some of the abstinence orators seem to have seen how the rest have stultified themselves with two inconsistent arguments, and in making their own election between the two have decided with great unanimity to appeal to law rather than love, to physiology and organic chemistry rather than to the gospel, to Liebig rather than to Paul. A sad mistake!

It must be quite unnecessary to show that the false position and fallacious arguments of the Temperance Reformation, which we have now exhibited, are not mere mistakes of theory, having no practical bearings or consequences. The monstrous mistakes of *action* which have characterized all its declining years, and of which we have now to speak, are distinctly traceable to its first falsehood.

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It would seem that the obvious line of operation of a society for suppressing the crime of drunkenness should be something like this: 1. As towards society—to fasten public attention firmly upon the main subject; to inform the public mind thoroughly of the substantial facts and unquestionable principles of the case; to quicken the public conscience to a healthful sensitiveness on the subject of the great sin to be opposed; to consolidate society, to the utmost, in opposition to drunkenness; to bind itself in the closest possible alliance with the church of Christ. 2. As towards the criminals themselves—to strengthen the moral power of motives for refraining from crime; to increase the restraints of law to deter from it. 3. As towards the antecedents of drunkenness—to demonstrate, by every just argument, the wickedness of enticing to drunkenness; to discourage, by all just considerations, such temperate use of liquors capable of producing intoxication, as is likely to do harm. This is the course which the Temperance Reformation mainly followed in its best days.

The complaint which we have to make against the Temperance Reformation as now conducted, a complaint which we are willing to "give bonds to prosecute," is this, that in all these points it has departed from its obvious duty, and gone, wittingly or unwittingly, in the opposite direction. Dealing with society, it has diverted the public attention from the subject of drunkenness; it has confused the public mind with fanciful theories and unsubstantiated allegations and chimerical plans; it has demoralized the conscience of society concerning the guilt of drunkenness; it has divided and alienated the good-will of the people; it has sundered the natural alliance of its

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work of moral and social reform with the Christian church. Dealing with the victim of this sin, it has weakened the force of motives over him, and cut the sinews of his will; it has diverted from his crime the reprobation of public sentiment, and the effective force of punitive law. Dealing with the enticements and antecedents to drunkenness, it has, indirectly and unconsciously, palliated the guilt of enticing to drunkenness; it has taken from the consciences of the unwary the safeguards against the dangerous temperate use of drinks that might intoxicate.

This is a long indictment, and the limits of space within which we propose to restrict ourselves forbid a long argument. We can do little more than "open the case." Perhaps we may have more to say, when we have heard from the defense. For the present, let us say, briefly, that the Temperance Reformers have achieved these untoward results:———

1. By insisting, as the fundamental maxim of their argument, on the "total-abstinence" theory, that temperance is intemperance (this is hardly an exaggeration, even of their language), that moderation in the use of wine or beer is excess in the same, that the sin of drunkenness inheres in all "use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage." [1]

1. The citations made by the late Rev. W. J. Conybeare in his very candid article on "Agitation and Legislation against Intemperance" (Ed. Rev. July, 1854), are a fair exhibition of the "state of the argument" on either side of the Atlantic. The following is from the report, in a Temperance paper, of a teetotal tea party at Birmingham Town Hall:

——"After tea, the chairman proceeded to address the meeting: and so far forgot his position as to contend that *a glass of ale would do a man no harm*, and that *it was not poison (!)*. He was followed by the two Messrs. Cadbury, who both ably refuted the strange assertions of the chairman. * * * We understand that the chairman has since resigned his position, if not his

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Notice how the influence of this mistake has run along through the whole course of proper reformatory effort, to vitiate or thwart it. The crime of drunkenness was a simple, clear object on which the attention of the public might have been fastened. It would have been prone enough, doubtless, to wander off upon related topics, towards which those interested in the maintenance of vice would have been glad enough to divert it. But there could have been no great difficulty in permanently fastening the public gaze upon it as

> "The direful spring
> Of woes unnumbered,"

in exhibiting the simple and undeniable but appalling facts which illustrate it, and the admitted principles which underlie the subject of the vice and its reform. Thus the conscience of the community might have been quickened to a healthful horror of the sin. Thus it was quickened, when the Temperance Reformation was younger and stronger than it now is.

How is it now? The arguments of the temperance men are scattered, and the attention of the public frittered away, and the whole flank of the reformation laid open to attack, by the policy of following out protracted and attenuated lines of argument, starting, often, from fanciful

membership, in the society. Indeed it appeared to be full time. He is either a very silly person, or was acting a very disgraceful part."—Quoted in *Conybeare's Essays* p. 382.

"The motive which leads the zealots to insist so obstinately on this doctrine of *poison* is their desire to prevent even the smallest indulgence in fermented liquors. * * * They assert *moderate drinking* to be an expression as self-contradictory as *moderate lying*, or *moderate stealing*. Indeed, the more zealous members of the sect show far greater abhorrence for moderate drinkers than for actual drunkards. The latter are represented as victims, the former as seducers."—*Id.* 383.

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theories as a base. The whole decision of the question has been made to turn, sometimes, upon matters in the occult and imperfect sciences of physiology and organic chemistry, or on the slenderest evidence in Biblical archæology or Shemitic philology.[1]

But not only is the strength of the Temperance cause with the *reason* of men damaged by postulating it on such weak assumptions, or at best such refined achievements of science—its strength with the popular *conscience* is still more pitiably reduced. There would doubtless be a certain apparent gain for the reform, if, *without compensating loss*, the public heart could be made to feel that the temperate use of wine or ale in the diet was a sin differing only in the degree of turpitude from the sin of debauchery. But how evident it is, that when it is attempted to force the public conscience to this position, all the opprobrium that is put upon temperate drinking is so much *deducted* from the disgrace of drunkenness! Once impress it on the general conscience that the Rev. Dr. A, with his daily bottle of Philadelphia ale, or old Judge B, who has never reformed his early habit of taking a thimblefull of sherry with his dinner, are just as guilty as the sots that get drunk daily at the corner-grocery, and if anything a little more so,—and the result may be extremely

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1. As an instance of the way in which the whole temperance cause has been staked by its advocates on unessential and doubtful questions, we quote from a sermon by one of the best of American preachers, the Rev. Dr. Kirk, of Boston. It is proper to say that this sermon was preached more than a quarter of a century ago.

"I will say (to begin) that, if I can find that my blessed Redeemer made and gave an intoxicating drink, I drop my strong argument. * * * I GIVE UP THE TEMPERANCE CAUSE, because I advocate it on the belief that intoxicating drink (or alcohol rather), is a poison, and I do not believe Jesus Christ ever made poison to give to a man in health."

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annoying to A and B, doubtless (which we concede to be a good point gained) but not half so much so as it must be comforting to the grocer and his customers, and demoralizing to the conscience of the community. No doubt, the Temperance men have everything their own way for a time, by this process. But when the tide of their agitation ebbs a little, and the steady weight of character of the old judge and the reverend doctor ("those incorrigible rum-suckers," as they used to be called by the elequent reformed drunkard from the next village) is felt as of old among the people, the general conviction is that after all that has been said, drunkenness is not so bad a thing if two such nice old gentlemen practice it every day.

On simple, admitted, undeniable principles, the whole moral force of society might easily have been concentrated against the prevalence of drunkenness. But instead of offering a broad platform, on which good men could gather, the Temperance Societies have preferred, in their fanatical confidence in their favorite notions of physiology and organic chemistry, their novel specialties in ethics, and their "private interpretations" of the Scriptures, to organize a faction and a sect. There was to be omnipotent virtue in a total abstinence pledge; and the Temperance Society, founded on a fleeting excitement and a congeries of exaggerated theories, was supposed to be builded on a rock, and proof against the gates of hell. We remember that it used to be the favorite apology of ministers of a certain stripe, when dodging the demand that they should lend their aid in resisting the prodigious evils of drunkenness,—that they need not join the Temperance Society, because The Church was the best society for

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moral reform. Their efforts *within* the church in behalf of temperance, were so generally inappreciable, that they got little credit for good faith. But, speaking "wiser than they knew," they enunciated a principle of which time has taught us the truth. It was an evil hour for the Temperance cause, when it broke alliance with the church of Christ, and set up its own sacrament, or pledge, of teetotalism, and its mystical child's play of "Rechabites" and "Templars," instead of the Christian ministry and ordinances. At this day the most effective Temperance Union is a vigorous Home Missionary Society; the most powerful corps of Temperance lecturers is the Christian ministry in the prosecution of their regular duties: and the most successful local Temperance Society, anywhere, is a faithful and diligent parish church. Mr. Gough, the greatest and wisest man of the Temperance movement, has put an irreversible judgment on this part of the policy of that movement, in the remark that he has known few instances of *lasting* reform from habits of drunkenness, except such as were connected with a radical, religious renewal of the heart.

The Temperance Reformation has brought its own cause to ruin,

2, By countenancing the assertion that the temptation to drunkenness, once awakened by "moderate drinking," is irresistible.

This assertion, there is internal reason to believe, was introduced into the methods of the Reformation, by the agency of the lecturing reformed-drunkards and their friends. It is easy to see that there was an "irresistible temptation" to this class of people to seize on an assertion which, while it magnified the total-abstinence dogma,

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either absolutely excused, or palliated down to the very borders of a virtue, the infamy of their own past lives. Temperate drinking was the mark of a sordid soul. "The man who squeezes his sixpence till it squeals, before he will pay it out for liquor, will never be a drunkard. No, no! it is your *generous!* WHOLE-SOULED!! NO-O-OBLE!!!" etc. etc.[1] This sort of talk, imported from bar-rooms and groggeries into the pulpit and temperance meeting, repeated as the apology for crime, and as the ground of shifting blame from the criminal to his accessory, was well calculated to weaken the force of those motives which, in the long run, must be mainly relied on for the prevention and cure of drunkenness. Could the ignominy of that crime be so deep, which was so nearly an accident—which was the proof of the most splendid and noble qualities of character, and the narration of which excited such touching expressions of interest, or such roars of laughter, and the reputation of which seemed a free ticket to popularity and fame? Above all, if the devil had desired to cut the vital nerve of all effort on the part of the tempted and the fallen, could he have invented a more effective process than this, of representing to such that temptation was irresistible, that effort was useless, that ruin was a sure thing, but that of the responsibility of it they were relieved; that God and man would hold them guiltless, and cast the blame where it belonged, upon the tempter?

1. The intelligent admirers of Mr. Gough will recognize this strain as one which occurs in almost all his speeches, and which forms the chief blemish of his advocacy of temperate reform. We wish that labors so full of wisdom, as well as of zeal and eloquence, might be freed from the taint of this pernicious mistake. So far as we remember, the late John Hawkins never spoke of his former life in any other tone than that of the most humble and penitent confession of personal guilt.

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It is evident, without remark, that the next step after thus reducing the moral power of motives over the drunkard, must be to remove from him the restraints of civil law to prevent or punish his crime. And in this direction the Temperance Reformation has not been afraid to venture.

It is an inevitable corollary from the last position, and one which we have already anticipated, that the Temperance Reformation thwarts and vitiates its own work,

3, By the habit of referring the sin of drunkenness to temptation as its efficient cause, and attempting to direct against the temptation and the tempter the condemnation and punishment which ought to be aimed at the criminal and his crime. This is not a peculiar vice of the Temperance Reformation; it is only one of the most flagrant illustrations of a prevalent habit of the public mind. It was pointed out, eighteen years ago, by a writer in the *New Englander* Quarterly, in language so pertinent and clear, that we can do no better than to copy his words:

"The time was, when drunkenness was deemed a dreadful sin, a base and beastly crime on the part of the drunkard, against his own nature, and against all his duties to his family, to society, and to his Maker; and some of us are of the same opinion still. In those days we had laws to punish a man for being drunk—laws which are not yet entirely effaced from our statute-books. In those days a man was held responsible, not only for the fact of having made himself drunk, but for all the natural consequences of his having done so; and if an intoxicated man committed theft, arson or murder, the intoxication did not excuse him, but was deemed to be an aggravation rather than a mitigation of his guilt. But for these few years past, a great effort has been in progress, to advance the welfare of society by suppressing all commerce in the means of intoxication. We do not here deny or question the legitimacy of the movement. But we ask whether in connection with this

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movement, there has not arisen in all quarters a habit of overlooking the guilt of the drunkard, and exaggerating the guilt of the traffic and the trafficker. The drunkard, we have been often told, is less to blame than the man who sold him the liquor; and the liquor seller, we are sometimes told, is less to blame than his temperance customers, who, if they would combine to lay him under an interdict, might compel him to come into their views; and in the same style of reasoning, those customers are less to blame than the town that permits that vender to have a license; and the town is less to blame than the state which might prohibit the traffic absolutely;—and why not go straight through with this kind of logic, and say that the state is after all less to blame than God, who might have excluded the principle of fermentation from the universe, and thus have saved us all this trouble? No! no! the drunkard himself, first of all and chief of all, bears the guilt of his own drunkenness. The temptations that surrounded him, he ought to have resisted; and had he resisted them, he would have gained a blessed victory: but with his destiny in his own hands, he wickedly bartered away his birth-right. And all the rhetoric and reasoning which would present that base, guilty, self-degraded wretch to our sympathies as a poor victim, overcome and borne away by the resistless power of circumstances and temptations, is of the nature of those evil communications that corrupt good morals." [1]

How the sort of talk here rebuked operates to weaken the force of moral and legal motives over the mind of the drunkard himself, has already been sufficiently indicated. The Temperance Reformers, so far as they are rational beings, must have at least some indistinct notion of it. But that it can have any tendency to palliate the guilt of the *tempter* to drunkenness, they will be surprised to be told. The fact is, that the ordinary temperance declaimer, by the very vice of his position and dogmas, is disqualified

1. *New Englander*, October, 1846. Article, "*Shall Punishment be Abolished?*" [The Article quoted was from the pen of my father.]

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for adequately appreciating the guilt of the sin of seducing to drunkenness. The judgment of God and of the healthy human conscience is that if anything is a crime, this more. And this *not* because the drunkard is a helpless, irresponsible creature, incapable of self-control, whose drunkenness is a misfortune, not a fault—at least not *his* fault; but just because drunkenness is itself a crime, and the drunkard a free agent, able to sin and able to forbear. The crime of the seducer to drunkenness is not aggravated, it is rather mitigated, by describing the resistless passion, the helpless infatuation, the irresponsible monomania of his victim. This is the aggravation of his offense, that he draws in his victim to be a willing and guilty accomplice in the two-fold crime, and loads the soul of each with something of the guilt of both. If drunkenness were a mere calamity, and not a sin—if it were *only* an accidental ruin and disgrace, falling on the drunkard and his household—if it were *only* poverty and squalor and wretchedness —if it were *only* public scorn, and a name cast out as vile —if it were *only* inflamed and blighted features, and a diseased body, and premature decay—if it were *only* parental anxiety or filial distress, and despair and bitterness of soul kept secret—if it were *only* bereavement—if it were *only* death—*then* the sin of seducing to drunkenness might be ranked with crimes against property and life—with theft and swindling and incendiarism, with arson, and the obstructing of railroad tracks and the poisoning of wells. But since drunkenness is not only these things, but more, a wilful sin against God—therefore the sin of enticing to drunkenness is brought besides into another category, that of sins against men's souls; and the enticers themselves, however delicate their smug gentility

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however covered the apparatus of their gins and snares with the show of respectability, or the pretense of legitimate and honorable business, are associated, in just minds, with those classes of criminals that excite not only our dread, but our detestation and disgust, with suborners, and pimps, and seducers. The mark on their foreheads is not the mark of Cain who slew his brother, but the serpent mark of Satan.

It is easy to see that the excessive zeal of the temperance men in seeking to aggravate the guilt of the tempter to drunkenness, in comparison with that of the drunkard, has overleaped itself. It is the opprobrium of the business of liquor-dealing, as commonly practiced, that it is accessory to the crime of drunkenness. Mitigate and palliate the principal crime, and you palliate the accessory.

We have taken no pains to exhibit proofs of this degeneracy of the Temperance Reformation, because the facts are patent and notorious. If you doubt that this great reform has decayed at the root—has come to hold that the drunkard is a victim, not a criminal—to be coddled in an "Asylum," not punished in a prison; that that which is secondary is primary, and that the accessory is the principal; that it has degenerated from a sober preacher of righteousness and repentance to the guilty, into a mere enforcer of novel and unsubstantial dogmas on the temperate, and a crusader against the existence of temptation in the world—read the back volumes of a Temperance paper.[1]

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1. If any are disposed to undertake the task proposed above, we would recommend, as by far the least scurrilous, and among the most amusing, of these sheets, the "*Journal of the American Temperance Union.*" If space permitted we

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The course of the discussion has brought us very close alongside of the subject of *Temperance Legislation.* This forms the very climax of the Temperance Reformation; it is the head in which it has "gone to seed," and into which, as it has ripened, it has concentrated all its characteristic flavors, its bland or acrid humors, and its supposed medicinal virtues. It is here that its whole vitality is absorbed, its blunders summed up, and its failures illustrated; for its successes have been failures, and its failures have been——failures likewise. Here, therefore, we may, very properly sum up and conclude our discussion.

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should be glad to print a series of elegant extracts from its files, to show how much rational entertainment may be got from the judicious reading of it.

As a specimen of the "evil communications which corrupt good morals" by palliating the guilt of drunkenness, we beg attention to the following letter from an amiable rural minister in Connecticut. He is speaking of a peculiarly flagrant case of persistent and repeated debauchery, complicated with an uncommon variety of other public and private crimes. The offender presents himself to the Temperance Union, so far as appears, without a particle of acknowledgment of personal guilt; sets up business without delay as a teacher of public morals, and a denouncer of the sin of temperate drinking and of prescribing alcoholic stimulants as medicines; and is received and officially recommended to the public, in this capacity, with no more intimation that there has been anything *wrong* in his career than if he had just recovered from an attack of small pox complicated with measles and whooping-cough:

"Dr. —— —— has addressed our people most happily. He takes the true Temperance ground, Total Abstinence. His experience, observation and knowledge, and power as an orator give to his eloquent, soul-stirring appeals a marked effect. He has seen and felt the evils of intemperance to the extent that by the grace of God he is now a sworn enemy to *all* that can intoxicate—rum, wine, beer, cider—and is arming himself fully to do battle against the hydra-headed monster. You know Dr. ——'s sad history. As a minister we none of us now recognize him. Nor has he been for years. He does not pretend now to be one. He is a lawyer, having first studied law, and being, I think, a member of the Bar.

"You and I feel for such a man, of eminent, noble parentage, of splendid talents, who is now contending both for self-protection and the safety of others. I love to help a man in such circumstances. I have done it before. If he can be reclaimed and put to service, and kept as he now is, and daily more strong and earnest for temperance and the cause, let him have countenance and support."—*Amer. Temp. Jour.*, Dec., 1863.

Every one familiar with the common style of total-abstinence writers and speech makers, will recognize this entire absence of censure on the "poor victims" as its constant characteristic.

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1. In the "Maine Law," the "consummate flower" and matured fruit of the Temperance Reformation, we see developed, at last, the reason of that grand characteristic of the "reformers," almost from the beginning,—that they have been perpetually busy in fussing over new laws instead of executing old ones. They have lacked tenacity of purpose. They have not had the patient endurance needful for a long fight with sin; and their institutions, instead of being founded on a rock, have been built upon the sand. Vaguely conscious, doubtless, that their "time was short," they have been in a hurry to abolish intemperance, not by establishing temperance (ἐγκράτεια = self-control) but by exterminating temptation—forgetful that, by this process, in the same degree that they abolish vice, they abolish virtue also. Not only this, but temptation must be extirpated with a single stroke of legislation. They "stand ready to smite once and smite no more;" so the important thing is to have a law that will go of itself. The old laws were pretty good laws, if they had been executed. "Go to, now. Let us build us a law that will not need executing. Public virtue is expensive. Let us have a patent moral reform that will run without it."

2. Well, the absolute extermination of ardent spirits being resolved on, together with the stern discouragement of fermentation, the question is, how to carry out these measures in the most offensive way consistent with the enactment of the law.[1] In some States, a special provision

1. The suspicion has been seriously suggested (and we understand that there is other than *internal* evidence to sustain it) that, in some States at least, the passage of the Maine Law has been due to a coalition between the Abstinence

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is put in purposely to annoy and alienate the Germans; and generally, provisions for domiciliary visitation, and like measures abhorrent to the genius both of American and English law, are contrived for worrying those special objects of the detestation of the true reformer, the "*moderate (!)* drinker," and the "*respectable (?)* dealer." It is slanderously reported of the Puritan crusade against the cruel amusement of bear-baiting, that it was undertaken not so much out of pity toward the bear, as out of spite toward the people. There is much stronger evidence of a spirit of "malignant philanthropy" among the Maine Law agitators, than among the Puritans.

3. In the matter of legislation, as elsewhere, the Temperance party has followed its besetting lust of classifying criminal and innocent things together, under some generic name under which the two may be denounced with the same opprobrium, and interdicted by the same formula of law. It has been willing thus to weaken the force of censure and the power of law over what is really wrong, for the sake of a good relishable insult and damage to something that is most palpably right.

"The Liquor-traffic" is a convenient word. It means, to the popular ear, the keeping of "bars" and "saloons" and tippling houses. Who would sustain "the Liquor-traffic?" Who would not vote to crush "the Liquor-traffic?" By the constant use of this expression in an evil sense, many a man is led to vote to punish "the liquor-traffic," who means simply to punish the infamous crime of the seducer or accessory to drunkenness. He discovers,

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and the Anti-temperance parties; the latter encouraging and assisting the former so to encumber their bill with impracticable and intolerable provisions as to make it inoperative.

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by and by, that he has voted to put under disgrace and penalty, at the same time, the agents of a useful and honorable trade, without which the ordinary functions of civilized society in any community must very soon become disordered or suspended. The public mind loves a rapid generalization, and so it is easier and more popular to preach or legislate against games than against gambling; against lots than against lotteries; against dancing than against dissipation; against drinking than against drunkenness; against "the liquor traffic" than against the improper sale of liquor. Cool argument, and fair discrimination, and ἐγκράτεια, are no part of the modern idea of a temperance man.

4. The policy being thus determined, the next thing was for the temperance party to burn the bridges behind them, by adopting the principle that no bread is better than half a loaf, —the cry "the whole or nothing." As in previous movements it was their delight to repel from coöperation, and classify (in their elegant terminology) among "the rummies," all who refused to accept in the gross their dogmas, ethical, theological, physiological and political; so now every attempt to draw distinctions or make exceptions was repudiated as a tampering with the unclean thing. The advocates of "regulation" as opposed to "prohibition" were openly stigmatized with the dreadful reproach of being friends of "the Liquor-traffic." The whole cause was staked on this experiment. The bills which inaugurated "prohibition" contained sections repealing former statutes. They meant to have one line of battle and no reserve. It was to be everything or nothing. And since it has turned out to be nothing, there is a much more complacent acquiescence in the result, on the part of

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the Temperance organs, than there used to be in the old state of affairs, when the liquor trade was in some measure regulated, and its abuses in some measure hindered or punished.

5. So far as we know, the clamor of the professional reformers and their followers has not yet succeeded in procuring the rescission of the laws providing pains and penalties for the crime of drunkenness. The tendency of their legislative contrivances towards such an end, however, is unmistakable. It is a leading feature of the "Maine Law," that it deals with drunkenness as accessory to liquor-selling,—not with liquor-selling as accessory to drunkenness. The drunkard is to be arrested and imprisoned, but is to be released at once on his turning State's evidence against his principal.[1]

The main influence, however, of the Temperance Reformation in preventing the punishment of the crime of drunkenness, has been (as we have elsewhere indicated) in drawing disproportionate attention to the fact of temptation, and in engendering a morbid sympathy with the criminal.

What then is the condition of laws to which we are brought, wherever the Temperance faction is politically successful?

This, nominally: that all ordinary trade in distilled

1. This provision formed no part, we believe, of the original law enacted in Maine in 1851, but was introduced in other States in the following year, and is now part of the idea of a prohibitory law.

We would suggest that if this provision were *reversed* it would be brought into better accordance with the common sense of justice:—that is, if it were provided that the dealer in intoxicating drinks should be released from penalty on condition of his testifying against those who had abused the liquors purchased of him, to purposes of intoxication.

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and fermented liquors is prohibited as a crime, the limited sale of the same, for certain specified uses, being assumed by the Government through its agents. Drunkenness and moderate drinking are abolished.

Actually, this: the laws punishing drunkenness are disused or repealed: the restrictions upon the sale of liquors are done away; the crime of keeping common tippling houses is elevated by public enactment to the same level of respectability with the business of the apothecary, or with any other honorable and useful trade in liquors; the contrivance of the abstinence-party stands on the statute-book, that demoralizing and disloyalizing thing, a dead letter; and the reformers themselves, whenever the exigencies of civilized life, and the obstinate laws of health and disease come athwart their favorite theories, are habitually violating the very statute which they themselves have contrived.

This is the situation.

Looking over the course of our discussion, we are unwilling to leave it in this entirely negative form. It is an ungracious thing to stand in the position of mere objectors to the efforts of well-intending people towards a good end; and we are *not* mere objectors. This critical review of a great and sad failure has been undertaken by us, not out of cynical moroseness, nor out of mere historical curiosity, but with the conviction that such a review must be the only safe basis of a future Temperance

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Reformation, which shall be a reformation indeed. The question on which we have meant that every page should have a bearing, is this: What shall be done in future? It is impossible that we should have any interest in this labor but truth and humanity. Certainly popularity and peace do not lie this way—nothing but organized annoyance from either party, and the scourge of tongues. Probably the abstinence-men, in their chaste style of controversy, will insinuate that we have written in the interest of the Liquor-dealers' Association. They might save their evil words. It is impossible that shrewd liquor-dealers can desire any more convenient state of things than this which the Temperance men have prepared to their hands.

But what shall we do? The men under whose pilotage the temperance reform has been wrecked are not more free in acknowledging that all their work is to be done anew, than they are prompt in proposing the next measure, to wit, to do the same thing over again;—to start from the same point, on the same course, and see whether or not they will split on the same rock.[1] Surely

1. See an article by the Rev. T. L. Cuyler, in *The Independent* of September or October last, entitled "*A Plain Word with Temperance Men.*"

See also a recent pamplet entitled "*The Temperance Cause*, or, Why we are where we are. By Charles Jewett, M. D."

The remarks and plans of these and other old-line temperance reformers indicate a conviction on their part that a chronic agitation on the temperance question is the normal condition of society; that every village and ward should have its regular weekly or monthly temperance meeting, with the public administration of its sacramental pledge of withholding the cup from the laity; that the temperance society and the temperance lecturer are required by the constant wants of human nature, like the church and the ministry. Indeed, the one prescription by which Dr. Jewett would heal all the infirmities and renew the youth of the moribund Reformation is—a provision for a regular income out of which to pay the salaries of himself and his fellow laborers!

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this recommendation does not require prolonged consideration.

The answer which we would give to this practical question may be guessed from what has gone before; but it is well to sum it up in a few paragraphs.

1. Let future efforts be settled on acknowledged principles of right and wrong, and on admitted and incontestable facts. Whatever may be the confidence of individuals in certain hypotheses in organic chemistry or physiology, or in certain novel points of scriptural interpretation or casuistry, let the reformation henceforth proceed upon principles and facts in which good men and candid men are agreed; not on those which the majority of good men, the world over, reject. Thus much being determined, there will be less temptation to the agents of this reform to deal in feeble arguments, in fanciful theories, in exaggerated statements, and in garbled and one-sided citations, than there now is; and the existing necessity for opprobrium upon those who hold the common opinions of Christendom will be removed.[1]

Having got back thus upon a basis of facts, the Temperance Reformers would, it is hoped, begin to see

1. For a frank statement, and striking example, of the policy of the Temperance reformation in this matter, see the following from the *Journal of the Am. Temp. Union*, for December, 1863:—"We have our fears that there is no adequate conception of the extent of hostility in ministers at the altar and communicants at the table of Christ, to the strict total abstinence principle, of the derision that is made of it in family and even in ministerial circles, and of unbelief in it as scriptural. The argument in its favor, however, is so perfect that all opposition to it is silenced. Many prefer to let total abstainers have their way than contend with them, especially when, *in so doing, they expose themselves to opprobrium;* and as no Maine law forbids their gaining *access to the means of indulgence*, and no civil or ecclesiastical law forbids such indulgence, and the circles of fashion in which they ever move without reproach or any diffidence, are sufficiently large and very inviting, they are satisfied."

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things truly and proportionately. They would see, especially, that the *primary* object of their opposition is drunkenness; and would not, as heretofore, forget or justify the primary thing in their zeal concerning the accessories.

2. In dealing with the sin and disgrace of drunkenness, let the main reliance be upon motives and means worthy, and adequate, and abiding. When the devil of intemperance has been joked out, or wheedled out, or juggled out, or scared out, or coaxed out of a man, he does not wander long in dry places without rest. It will be as easy for him to be coaxed, or scared, or juggled, or wheedled back again. And it will go hard with him, but he will take back to his empty room some worse devils than himself. When intemperance is driven out by the "expulsive force" of another and over-mastering selfish passion, as avarice, or ambition, it may be a more permanent change, and in its social aspects a beneficial one; but after all, it is only a casting out of devils by Beelzebub. The motives to be mainly used must be the sovereign and infinite considerations of the Christian religion; the effective power that must be relied on is the power of God; and (let us add) instead of futile pledges, and evanescent societies, and childish "orders" and "lodges" should be substituted the sacraments and the enduring institution of the Christian church.

3. In the application of *legal measures* to the work of temperance reform, it is needful, still, to keep in mind what is the primary object of the reformation,—the prevention of the sin of drunkenness. To be prevented, it must be punished; and this is the obvious, natural, effective course which the Temperance Reformers have

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never adopted, but have steadily more and more discouraged.

We can easily anticipate the fondness with which the abstinence men will linger over their feeble objections to the cruelty of punishing the "poor victim," and the reluctance with which they will part with them, before they come back to the position of common sense, that the best way to discourage a crime is *not* to excuse its guilt and remove its penalties, And it is worth while to anticipate the answers with which these objections must be met.

"The drunkard—the *poor* drunkard—is not the worst sinner in the case. Poor man! he is beguiled by the evil influence of others. The tempter is a worse sinner than the drunkard. Punish the tempter."

Certainly, if you say so, punish the tempter. But why not punish the criminal too?

(1.) Suppose that you are right, and that the drunkard is not so great a sinner. Will you refrain from punishing one criminal until you have measured off and inflicted a proportionate allotment of penalty on all his superiors in guilt? If this must be, then human government may as well be abandoned; for all criminal legislation and administration has to proceed with the expectation that it will leave untouched many worse men than it punishes. There always are, and always will be, worse rogues out of prison than in it. Defaulters and swindlers will ride in carriages, while pickpockets travel on the treadmill. But is this a good reason for not punishing pickpockets?

(2.) Suppose that the tempter is a guiltier sinner than the other party, he is not guilty of the *same* sin. The guilt of the receiver of stolen goods is very commonly greater

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than that of the burglar, but it is *not* burglary. The suborner to perjury is doubtless a worse man, often, than the perjurer. But was it ever held, in any legislature, that the existence of severe enactments against subornation was a good reason for letting the perjurer go free?

(3.) All these discussions of the comparative degree of guilt of accomplices in crime, are of doubtful profit. But if we were disposed to defend the case of the shopkeeper as against his customer, there is a good deal to be said on his side of the question. The whole question depends on circumstances. It depends partly on the comparative intelligence of the parties. If the drunkard is an intelligent American citizen, trained in the church, the religious family and the common school, to a knowledge of his duty, and the vender is an illiterate and outcast negro, or an Irishman that never heard of Father Mathew, and knows nothing of the Temperance cause, except that he has been told by an eminent citizen to vote against the Maine law, the chances are that the guiltier party is the drunkard himself. It depends partly on their knowledge of the consequences of their respective acts. The drunkard cannot but know the ruin he is bringing thereby on himself, and on his family, and on society; the seller doesn't need to know—doesn't want to know—takes pains not to know, nor think. It depends partly on the motives of the parties. The seller may be moved by the necessity of daily bread for himself and for his household; the drunkard can have no motive but the mere gratification of a selfish passion, reckless of the misery which he inflicts upon those whom he ought to love most dearly.

(4.) But inasmuch as it is too much to hope that the

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fallacies that are bound up in the hearts of old professional "reformers" will ever be driven out by counter-argument, it may be well enough to help them complete the circle of their vicious reasoning, and thus get back to their point of departure. If the crime of tempting to drunkenness is so odious as to have become the exclusive object of public vengeance, what shall we say of the guilt of those who deliberately tempt their neighbor into the crime of liquor-selling? If the drunkard cannot be punished for debauchery, because he is a "poor victim," is not the grog-seller a "poor victim" too? and may we not, peradventure, punish the wretch who deliberately and repeatedly approaches his neighbor with sixpences and shillings, to awaken within him the "accursed greed of gold," and lure him on to the crime of liquor-dealing?

But "the poor drunkard!" He is not to be easily mulcted or imprisoned "without the meed of some melodious tear" from his temperance friends. Don't punish the poor drunkard! his passions are so strong, and his power of resistance so weak. Punish somebody else; do!" They adopt the foolish fallacy, which is a good deal broader than the Temperance Reformation,—so broad that it under-runs a great deal of general legislation and law logic,—the fallacy that the weaker a man's will and the wilder his passions, the less he needs the control of law. If drunkenness is a *mere* disease (as reformed drunkards are fain to insinuate),—if will and conscience have absolutely no concern with it, why there is no more to be said nor done but to send the patients to a hospital and physic it out of them. But the *reformed* drunkards themselves who suggest the idea are a living refutation of it. The fact that they *do* abstain shows that they might have

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abstained before. They are a living proof that the treatment which their "disease" needed was the most *heroic* moral treatment,—the plainest exhibition of their criminality, and the kindest encouragement to reform, mingled with warnings, not to be trifled with, of the most stern and inexorable punishment in case of persistence in crime. The kindest thing for the weak and irresolute, and "morally insane," is to stiffen their moral nature with the strength of *law*. The cruel and fatal thing is to remove from them alike the fear of punishment and the hope of amendment, and, by telling them that they are impotent and helpless, to make them so. And this is what the Temperance Reformation has done.[1]

4. In applying legal measures to the matter of liquor-selling, let the new Temperance Reformation still remember that it is only as accessory to the crime of drunkenness, in a nearer or more remote degree, that the liquor trade becomes properly amenable to the criminal law. It will thus avoid the mischievous confounding of right and wrong, which has been wont hitherto to frustrate both argument and law. It will be, not "the liquor traffic," both right and wrong, useful and mischievous,

1. We have no intention, in anything we have here or elsewhere said, of disparaging the Inebriate Asylums in their *proper* use; nor of disguising the fact that the thirst for intoxicating liquors does sometimes grow to such a morbid intensity that the best and wisest thing for the subject of it may be, for a time, to seclude him from the possibility of indulging it. But when exceptional cases of so-called "moral insanity" are taken as the basis of public reform or legislation, or when the principle is accepted that people generally are more or less insane, and therefore irresponsible, it is time for the sane people to look out for themselves.

In every well-regulated mad-house a stringent system of rewards and punishments is deemed essential, and is found to be effective. If society generally is full of maniacs, liable constantly to acute attacks of criminal impulse, is it good "treatment" to inform them, through legislative acts, and jury verdicts, and judicial charges, that if they misbehave they shall not be hurt for it?

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which it will be attempted to crush, but the wicked and hurtful traffic in liquor. To come more to matters of detail, the coming Reformation must keep in mind, in all its restrictions on trade:

(1.) That the Christian law of liberty and love, under which a good man waives his lawful privileges for the benefit of weak consciences, cannot be *enforced* by act of legislature or church, nor by edicts of the Temperance and Tract Societies. The moment you enforce it you kill it.

(2.) That there are some things that "the law cannot do, in that it is weak through the flesh;" and that when the law has suppressed the evil which it can conveniently reach it has not thereby sanctioned the offences which it cannot reach.

Look now at the trade in those articles that are liable to be perverted into the means of intoxication. It may be classified, for the present purpose, in three categories, according to the guilt or innocence of the dealer:

(1.) Those sales which are plainly right.

(2.) Those sales which, by their probable consequences, are obviously wrong.

(3.) Those sales the consequences of which are doubtful.

As for the first class of dealings in liquor, a wise and good law will be studiously careful to interfere with them as little as possible. If it were a mere matter of personal liberty of the "pursuit of happiness" through an innocent calling, this course would be required by the spirit of our constitutions. But this part of "the liquor traffic" is not merely innocent, it is beneficent,—it is necessary. And what an intolerable annoyance to the public as well

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as to individuals is the interdiction of it or the confinement of it to a government monopoly, is witnessed by the general disregard of the "Maine Law," even in the most law-abiding communities and by the best citizens.

As for the second class of dealings, they must be prevented and punished just so far as they can be defined and reached by legislation. And this is what the old laws, which have been denounced with so much contumely, were honestly careful to do. They forbade tippling-houses, high and low, great and small; they interdicted Sunday liquor-selling; and they prohibited all sales of liquor to minors, to apprentices and students, and to common drunkards, as being sales evidently liable to be turned to an evil use. And these prohibitions commended themselves to every conscience as wise and right.[1]

"But is this all that we can do?"

Well, suppose you try to do this first, before you ask, What next? This is more than you are doing now, or have ever been able to do heretofore, for any considerable extent of time or space, by prohibitory laws. Try this first.

The measures we have described are such as will unite the coöperation of the mass of society, both of good men and of bad. For society and government, in the main, are always on the side of sound morals. Even under the

1. The perpetual protest of the temperance orators against the prohibition of the sale of liquor *to drunkards*, illustrates a great many of our positions at once. The reason for this prohibition in the old laws was *not* that the sale of liquor to temperate men might not sometimes be more hurtful than the sale of it to drunkards, but that the latter might confidently be presumed to have a bad result; while, as to the former, the presumption, in individual cases, was uncertain.

The old laws of some of the Puritan colonies on this subject—Blue Laws, if you like to call them so—were models of wise, humane legislation, which the reformers who sneer at them would do well to study.

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corrupt despotism of Nero, the magistrate was on the whole a terror to evil doers and a praise to those that did well. The only way of effectively protecting from public justice the evident sin of the enticer to drunkenness, is the way adopted by the Temperance Reformation, of perplexing and bewildering the public mind by confounding this evident sin with other things, which are as evidently innocent and honorable.

These two classes of dealings in intoxicating liquors having been disposed of, the question will still remain: What shall be done respecting that third class, lying on the doubtful ground between the two? Into the large discussion of this question we shall not enter here. We will venture only one suggestion. If, with regard to these, the state should conclude that much needs be left to the discretion of the dealer, that therefore the dealer ought to be a person of special prudence, and that the ordinary trade in intoxicating liquors ought not to be left open indiscriminately to all; and if the state, accordingly, should enact that none should engage in it without the special permission of the authorities, nor without binding themselves from the abuse of the trust,— the state would not, by such provisions, be sanctioning a crime, nor making itself responsible for abuses which it had labored to prevent.

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XV.

THE OPPROBRIUM OF ENGLISH LAW

A SERMON AGAINST THE PUBLIC CRIME OF THE DERELICTION OF LEGISLATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE FAMILY.[1]

"He that judgeth his brother, judgeth the law." James, iv, 11

For a week past the whole State of Maryland has been witnessing, through the newspapers, a capital trial of extraordinary interest and of very peculiar character. A young homicide is on trial for his life. A jury is empanelled and sworn to render a verdict according to law and facts. The instructions of the Bench and its rulings on questions of evidence are faithfully conformed to the accepted principles of evidence and of law so as to confine the investigation to the one question of the prisoner's innocence

1. Preached in Baltimore, Sunday evening, April 23, 1871. The substance of the argument had previously been delivered and published, on a like occasion, in New York.

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or guilt. The course of counsel for the prosecution and for the defence is ostensibly directed to the same end—the State attempting to establish the fact of homicide, with its implication of malice; the traverser making a show of proving: first, that the act was done in self-defence; and, secondly, that it was done in a moment of irresponsible insanity.

All this is plain and straightforward enough. All this, if such offences must needs come, is very right and honorable to the administration of justice in the State. But as we observe the progress of the trial, it becomes perfectly obvious, even to a stranger, that the real defence is one which it is forbidden to introduce, and which, nevertheless, *is* introduced; which it is forbidden to rebut, and which, nevertheless, *is* rebutted by the prosecution; which the jury are sworn not to take into consideration, and which, nevertheless, they are universally expected to consider, and unanimously do consider, and on which with what is commonly accepted as a sort of pious perjury, amid the irrepressible applauses of the crowd, they render their verdict. It is clearly enough not the manslayer who is on trial, but the man slain. The defence of the homicide in the forum of public opinion, the *real* defence of it—not the legal fiction of a defence—in the criminal court is that the victim had been guilty of seduction—the *crime* of seduction I was about to say: but seduction is no crime under Maryland law. The Court are trying not an assassin, but a dead man, and an absent woman. The sham defence of the prisoner at the bar is only set up to be dropped again.

The jury having considered the case of the corpse, bring in a speedy verdict of *served him right*, and the prisoner

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at the bar, being acquitted on the pretext of his having been a temporary maniac, or of his having been assaulted with deadly weapons and forced into an unwilling homicide, instead of being tenderly committed to the charge of physicians or condoled with for the painful accident that had befallen him, is hailed with shouts and cheers, and carried aloft on the shoulders of the crowd as a hero, a deliverer of society from the presence of a criminal so heinous that it is not fit that he should live.

A case of peculiar character I have called this. It belongs to a peculiar class, but in its class there is nothing peculiar in it at all. It varies in names, and scene, and circumstances, but in no essential respect, from the general course of judicial dealing in many of the United States with cases of the assassination of seducers and adulterers. This fact is supposed to mark, and really does mark, the abhorrence of the people of those States for the crimes that provoked the bloody deed.

But pause a moment. What is the measure of the abhorrence of these States towards crimes against domestic purity and honor? Suppose that the accusation uttered by the lips of the young assassin over the body of his victim writhing in the death-agony were true without qualification or mitigation: suppose the latter was the shameless seducer he is declared to be, wherein has he offended against the State? What crime has he committed? Search the statute book and see! It is not named upon it. Look through the criminal code. For any hint which the people of Maryland have ever given in any form of law as to the heinousness of his act, the seducer may stand before the whole community, may sit with the wisest and most honored of her counsellors in high seats of dignity, a

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blameless man. If he could be convicted of the deed under every imaginable aggravation, it would subject him to no penalty, it would disqualify him from no honor or emolument in the people's gift. But he cannot be convicted of seduction, for that crime is not named as a crime in the laws of this Commonwealth. There is provision, indeed, for civil process by which any differences arising between man and man on account of it may be adjusted by an assessment of damages, but nothing more.

And now is not your public sentiment a little absurd which roars so fiercely around the steps of the seducer, putting a Cain's mark upon him "that every one that findeth him may slay him," defending the murder of him by the authority of judicial precedents, on the ground that he is a criminal so flagitious that it is not fit that he should live, and yet when you are asked to name the crime of which he is guilty, you are at a non-plus, and search the statute-book and criminal code and digest of decisions from title-page to tail-piece in vain. Plainly either public sentiment is wrong, or the laws are wrong. If the honorable instinct which rises to vindicate the violated sanctity of the family is not a depraved and malignant passion—if the loathing with which society yearns and retches to vomit out the adulterer is not merely a morbid squeamishness—if the worthy indignation which burns against him in the breasts of honest men, and seethes in the public heart on any flagrant occasion until it endangers the barriers of public order, is not a whimsical and mock-chivalrous notion, then the law of this State is an insult to the law which God has written in his Word and on the heart of every man.

That which is true concerning the sin of seduction, is

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also true concerning the graver, more definable and cognizable sin of adultery. In most nations, civilized or barbarous, the crime against the sanctity of the family has been counted among flagitious felonies. Commonly the fit penalty measured out to it has been the penalty of death. There are exceptional States in our Union in which adultery is still recognized as a crime and punished with grave and infamous penalties. Such is the State of Louisiana, whose penal law is modelled upon the *Code Napoléon*. Such are those States of the northernmost zone whose traditions of law have been affected by that wisest and most splendid stroke of juridical reform in modern history, by which the Puritan colonies of New England cast behind them into the ocean the whole body of English traditions and statutes, both secular and ecclesiastical, and reverted to the divine model of legislation in the code of Moses as the pattern according to which their jurisprudence should be framed.[1] But concerning the

1. The sagacious act of the New Haven colonists by which they determined that the Code of their infant republic should be that contained in the books of Moses, so far as this was neither local nor ceremonial, until the colonists should have time to apply the principles of the same in laws more exactly suited to their circumstances—has been travestied in "Knickerbocker's History" as a resolution "to be governed by the laws of God until they could make better for themselves." And it has been both ignorantly and malignantly denounced as the act of narrow-minded fanatics going back from the attainments of Christian civilization to a barbarous and sanguinary code which the world had long outgrown. It is the highest possible vindication both of the character of the Puritan colonists, and of the divine wisdom of the Mosaic law, to compare the code of New Haven colony as provisionally fixed by that act, with any code then existing in Europe, and especially with the whole complex system of English law which they thereby deliberately, purposely and expressly repudiated. Their "sanguinary code" was the most humane body of laws then extant in Christendom. Their simplicity of procedure, disembarrassed by a stroke of the pen from the incumbrances of many generations, became a model and incitement to law-reformers of other States. And, as the argument of this sermon shows, their penal legislation had a dignity of moral tone to which the most advanced improvements in law-reform have not yet in all respects attained. As

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majority of our States it must be said that, following the base and demoralizing tradition of English law, they know no such crime as adultery. Before the State it is innocent. It may give rise to disagreements between citizens, in which the aggrieved party may assess the value in cash of the grievance which he has suffered, and the affair may be equitably settled by the award of a jury.

The law of Maryland differs from that of most of the States; for here there *is* a law against adultery. And the penal law of any State may be taken as the gauge of the moral sentiment of the public towards the crimes therein specified and prohibited. According to our code, the penalty for murder in the first degree is death; for murder in the second degree, imprisonment for not less than five years; for forgery and fatal duelling the penalty is not less than five years' imprisonment; for larceny of property more in amount than five dollars there is a penalty of from one to fifteen years' imprisonment; for the crime of adultery the penalty is a fine of *ten dollars*. O, stern and faithful government! O, magnanimous legislation! O, chivalrous people, that know the comparative value of *property* and of *honor*—that punish the thief with fifteen years' imprisonment, and the adulterer with a ten dollar fine!

It is pertinent to the business in hand to remark, incidentally, that American legislation generally on this

to the often refuted but continually renewed calumny about "the Blue Laws of Connecticut," it is a little aside from our present purpose to remark upon the injustice of fixing the odium of impertinent and intrusive laws upon a State whose statute-book was to be distinguished among those of the rest of the world at that period for its comparative freedom from the then universal fault of sumptuary legislation.

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whole subject of crimes of lewdness seems to have been affected by that vile and corrupting theory of government, that its sole function is the protection of person and property, and that accordingly it has no concern for the care of morality. So long as one does not offend the fastidiousness of his neighbors, or hurt the value of property, by public indecencies, it is the general disposition of the law to protect the libertine in his lawful right of debauchery, just as it protects any other citizen in his lawful pursuit of happiness. Against the less destructive and ruinous sins of lewdness, most countries, even though they do not pretend to suppress them, nevertheless record their reprobation in laws which may be enforced under favorable circumstances and against flagitious offenders. But in this State, and in most States besides those in which the precedents of the Puritan legislation have been followed, neither prostitution nor its correlated vice is punishable under any circumstances whatever. Our States commonly have abdicated this whole department of government, leaving this entire class of crimes free of all prohibition, except when they interfere with the value of property.

Let me illustrate to you the effects of this shameless dereliction of the State to its divine trust of government, as exemplified in two facts which occurred to my personal knowledge as a pastor in the city of Brooklyn, and which might have occurred, for all the law there was to hinder, in this city of Baltimore.

The first is that of an affectionate mother, a Christian woman, who had learned by an experience which I pray that you may never have to suffer—

> "How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is
> To have a thankless child."

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Once the wayward girl was rescued by aid of the law for a brief time from her wilful infamy, for she lacked yet a few months of eighteen years, and the law is zealous to protect property, and the mother has a *pecuniary* interest in the daughter's services till she comes of age. But the few months pass, and she is eighteen years old, and the law strikes off from her the hand of maternal authority and lays on her no compulsion of its own, and from the tears of her mother, and from the entreaties of the Church of Christ she goes forth under the encouraging protection of the laws to walk the way whose steps take hold on hell. She has a *legal right* to abandon herself to infamy and wretchedness; a *legal right* to put herself in training as a professional corrupter of mankind; a *legal right* to acquire and exercise the arts of seduction on your sons and brothers and on mine; a *legal right* to enter that ghastly procession that is marching nightly through your streets towards misery and rottenness and death and hell; and what has the law to do in such a case but to turn its austere front towards the mother with her tears, and towards Christian charity with her hands of love, that would fain reach forth and snatch her as from the fire, and shout Hands off. Shame on the recreant State that will not reinforce the pleading of domestic love and Christian pity towards this wretched one so much as with one authoritative word or threat! Shame, that you will not give the help of penal sanction to the better resolution of any tempted creature that is struggling with besetting lust! Go blush, O virtuous citizens and tribunes of the people, for your ostentatious horror against the licensing of prostitution, when you

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have no word of protest against laws like these that proclaim universal license, and turn cities into brothels!

The other case is this: A poor woman came to me, sick, downcast, heartbroken, under the shadow of a great impending crime, to ask for counsel. Her husband, whose unfaithfulness she long had known, had just sent word to her that she should mend and make ready his linen, and pack his trunk, and that at a certain hour he would call for it, as he was intending to live with a woman whom he had selected for his mistress. All day she had sat among her children, working through her tears at such a task as was ever a wife set upon before? and now she had come to me to ask if there was no law to hinder this awful calamity. I was obliged to tell her No! If she had lived in Connecticut, in Massachusetts, in Ohio, if she had lived almost anywhere on the face of the earth, except in England, or under these traditions of English jurisprudence, the law would have laid its hand on the shoulder of this wretch at the first thought of such a deed, and warned him that he could venture on it only at the expense of the penalties and pains of felony. But there we had a revised code, and an advanced civilization, and adultery is lawful —not even punishable by a fine of ten dollars. And so I counselled her to go home again and finish the mending and the packing, and meekly and gently and without upbraiding, to say good-bye to the husband of her youth, and make up her mind to labor on alone in her sickness to support her worse than orphaned children, and put her trust in that God who, though kings are false and states may cowardly and meanly betray the cause of the helpless, has declared himself to be the father of the fatherless, and the widow's judge. That was New York law.

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Maryland law is *worse*, by as much as it adds insult to injustice.

I have now stated to you the *facts* concerning the condition of law touching crimes against the family. By-and-by, if there be time, I may say something concerning the *causes* that have led to the origination and perpetuation of such a monstrous series of legislative abuses.[1] But just now I ask your attention to the *results*, immediate and indirect, of such a condition of the laws.

1. I will not insult your intelligence by citing facts to prove, what no one will doubt, that the abrogation of the law against such crimes is attended with vast increase of them.

2. Neither will I argue with you to show that the withdrawal of the protest of the penal law against this whole class of offences, and the lowering of them to the

1. The cause of them is to be found in the character of the English Reformation which conserved the medieval tradition that, marriage being a sacrament, offences against it should be punished by church-discipline. In other European countries, the Reformation was commonly followed by stringent penal legislation against adultery, and also (a correlative enactment) by legal provision for divorce. In England, until lately, there has been neither the one nor the other. Now, there is the second without the first.

The legislative purity, from amid which Roman Catholic countries look out with horror on the divorce laws of Protestant States, is explained in this way. It is only where the *vinculum matrimonii* actually binds in law, under penal sanctions, that it becomes a grave necessity to provide, in some cases, for loosing not from its moral, but from its penal obligations.

The outcry made in the name of the Church against all civil divorce whatever, is not only against the very letter of the Bible, but it is against the spirit of it. It is founded on that general notion, so foreign to the spirit of both Testaments, that civil laws must be conformed to absolute morality instead of to the exigencies of time and place. The rebuke of divorce is no novelty of the Christian dispensation. "The Lord hated putting away" from of old. And yet he provided for it, by a civil law which, for the time, was a good law. The divorce provisions of the Mosaic code, like the maxim "Eye for eye and tooth for tooth," did not cease to be right when they were "not destroyed but filled out" by Christ; they never were right, considered as a standard of personal morality.

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category of personal differences, tends to the demoralization of society, the vitiating of the consciences of the people. Will any one tell me what is the prevalent tone of public comment in this community upon these base and dreadful and infectious crimes? Can any one inform me how much of the staple evening reading of our families is made up of the daily infamies that are transacted in the community drolly travestied into humorous adventures by the small newspaper wits who exercise their ribaldry therein—fools who make a mock at sin? But consider, O citizens who groan and grumble at this nuisance, what excuse they have, to whom the majesty of the State itself has set so eminent an example, and whether it is altogether strange that they should better the instruction.

3. But the most miserable consequence of the dereliction of the State in its duty of punishing crime, is that which is exemplified in that great class of bloody assassinations to which a new case has just been added in this State. The sure and infallible result of the abdication by society of the duty of punishing criminals is not that crime becomes innocence, and that the consciences and hearts of men are revolutionized by a stroke of reformatory legislation, and the abhorrence of the guilt abolished —but the result is this, that the exercise of punishment, which should be firmly and temperately held by the hand of orderly and impartial justice, is delivered over to the wild justice of the mob or of the lynch court, or to the more frantic hand of private vengeance. Where, tell me, lies the safeguard of public order in times of great public indignation against atrocious crime, or of the wild stirring of revenge for the righting of a personal grievance? Does it lie in the batons of a drilled constabulary? in the

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bayonets of an organized militia? in the squadrons and batteries of a standing army? No! Back of all these lies the conviction deep in men's minds that *the Government* may be trusted to avenge the innocent, to punish the guilty, and to vindicate justice. This it is which suffers the accused criminal to sleep in safety in the jail, without fear of the mob which would otherwise tear him from the impotent and untrustworthy hands of the law. This speaks to the hasty and heady passion of revenge, and says: "Put up thy sword into its sheath, for they who take the sword shall perish by the sword." Even God himself the great Law-giver, deigns to make appeal to this confidence in his administration of justice, in order to restrain the passions of his subjects, saying in Paul, "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves but rather give place to wrath;"—stand aside and let the wrath of God have course;—"for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord."[1] And when human government cannot make like appeal, armies and constabularies are of no avail. The instinct of a wild justice flings aside police clubs like grass, and bayonets like rotten wood, and leaps with an irresistible fury upon its victim. Who has ever known lynch law to prevail, and private revenge and assassination to abound, in communities where strong and faithful government is quick to follow crime with thorough trial and adequate penalty? Such acts as these are the opprobrium of any government, as it is written, "Whosoever judgeth his brother judgeth the law." The murder of every assassinated malefactor, of every victim of the hasty sentence of the lynch court, is recorded to the shame of a derelict State. The Government, the

1. Romans, xii, 19.

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citizens, YOU, by your derelictions, are become accomplices with the assassin in these deeds of blood!

What now has the State of Maryland to say for the security of public order against the instincts of private revenge and public justice outraged by the infamous crime of the seducer or adulterer? When forgery has been tampering with your bank account, she rebukes your headlong revenge, saying This is my business. She lays her hand upon the culprit, and flings him into a felon's dungeon, and clothes him in disgrace and casts him forth from the honors of the citizen. When murder has broken into your dwelling, or, raging in the streets, has made the very stones to cry out with the voice of a brother's blood, she stretches out her sword to suppress the tumult of the outraged citizens, and points to the gallows and the executioner, saying "Vengeance is mine." But when lust and adultery are neighing at your door, and defiling the sanctuary of your home, despoiling you of treasures which cannot be valued with gold, and embittering your life with a bereavement such as the clumsy arts of the murderer could never have accomplished—what has the majesty of this sovereign State to say to her suffering subject whose bosom is boiling with grief and just revenge? What, but to pat him on the shoulder and tell him "be quiet, now; be cool! There may be *money* in this thing if you will manage it right." O foolish people, hear the word of God, if you will not regard the voice of your brother's blood, "Jealousy is the rage of a man, therefore he will not spare in the day of vengeance. He will not regard any ransom, neither will he rest content though thou givest many gifts." [1]

1. Proverbs, vi, 34, 35.

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No! No! Let not the State that attempts to abrogate the law of God and erect adultery into a lawful act, think that thereby it protects the criminal from hurt. It puts him under a law more sanguinary than the code of Draco. It initiates from that moment a common law stronger than any statute, which does more than authorize assassination—which invites scorn upon all law and all authority—which implies that the law shall be affronted, and insulted in its own courts, misinterpreted by its own expounders, and that juries are to kiss the book to solemn oaths, in open expectation that they shall perjure themselves before they leave the box, and march forth under the applause of the people.

With great clearness of statement the acute and able Attorney General of the State, in the late trial, thus defined, in the form of an imaginary statute, the principle under which it have must been obvious to him that the prisoner against whom he appeared was about to be acquitted. Enacted into the form of a law it would read thus: "Every person, upon being informed that his wife, daughter or sister has been seduced into criminal intercourse with any man, shall be and he is hereby constituted grand jury, court, petit jury, sheriff and executioner, fully authorized and empowered upon such information as he may choose to believe, to condemn, and at his convenience, and by any means or instrument or weapon of death he may choose, to put such man to death, without a moment's notice or warning, and this shall be deemed and held justifiable homicide." Against such an enactment, he said, common sense and common reason would protest.

Yes; but, Mr. Attorney General and citizens of Maryland, *that is the law.* It has not been engrossed on

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parchment; it has not been codified and printed; it has *perhaps* not yet been enunciated from the Bench—but it is the law; and while the rest of the statute and the common law continues as it is, you may argue in vain to break the uninterrupted series, if not of judicial decisions, at least of jury verdicts, by which it is sustained. It is a fierce and cruel law. It is a law that makes no discrimination, as the Mosaic law does, between the grades of these crimes of impurity which it punishes. It is a most ineffective law, atoning for the general impunity of the worst crimes that infest society by now and then an outburst of ferocious and deadly fury. But it is *the law*, for all this, and will continue to be, so long as the only alternative that you have to offer for it is the more monstrous absurdity of such a law than this:

"Any person committing adultery shall on conviction be punished only by a fine of not more than ten dollars. Seduction, prostitution and all other crimes against chastity and against the peace, purity and honor of the family shall be free of all punishment, and any person committing them shall be protected by the power of the State from all violence, damage or annoyance which may be attempted in consequence against his person or estate, whether by personal or by public vengeance, and shall be eligible as before to all offices of honor and emolument."

The learned Attorney General is right. The existence of a common law such that, the moment he frames it coolly into the form of a statute, it is recognized as abhorrent to common sense and natural equity, is possible only where its non-existence would imply a fouler scandal, a more crying injustice.

I do not undertake to say whether or not the existence

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of the private *vendetta* is the right course for the individual in such cases. I leave that an open question. It *is* an open question whether, when Government abdicates its function of the punishment of crime, society is not remanded, of necessity, to the old savage Law of the Wilderness, by which the next of kin is appointed to the solemn office of *Goel* or blood-avenger—plaintiff, witness, judge, jury, sheriff, executioner all in one; whether by the constitutional law of all human society, older than all statutes and precedents, paramount to all written charters and constitutions, the aggrieved person, blinded as he is by frantic rage, does not, nevertheless, carry in his hand a death-warrant signed and sealed by the hand of God; whether you have not gone back, I do not say to the Mosaic code, with its humane and just provisions of the right of sanctuary, but to the law of the heathen Moabite and Amorite.

But my concern at present is not with the duty of the individual, but with the duty of the State—of you, O fellow citizens, who *are* the State. This is *a political sermon*, and nothing else, in the sense in which that is not a contradiction in terms. It is intended to set forth the law of God, not destroyed, but restored and completed in the Gospel, in its application to you in your duty as Christian citizens. I will not affect to force a spiritual application of the subject as an apology for bringing it into the pulpit. It needs no apology. The subject belongs here by divine right.

I must cease, leaving many important things unsaid. I wish there were time to recite that curious passage in the history of English and American jurisprudence which furnishes an explanation, and in some measure an apology, for the strange disorganization of law concerning this

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matter. But I find that I must be satisfied with having set before you the considerations of present fact and present duty. Suffer me only, in conclusion, to repeat, what I trust you will lay to heart and conscience, that before God the responsibility for all these accumulating assassinations rests upon the State and the body of its citizens, and that by just so far as you fail in the execution of that royal trust with which God has invested you, the trust of righteous government, your brothers' blood will be upon your heads and upon your children's.

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20
14
7

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